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# Methodist Quarterly Review.

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## Art. I.—THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE PENTATEUCH.

[First Article.]

That the Pentateuch, but especially the Book of Genesis, is of composite origin, and embodies a variety of ancient documents, is obvious to every critical student. Ancient as well as modern readers observed in the "Book of the Law of Moses" passages which could not well have been written by the great lawgiver himself. The tradition of some revision or reproduction by the hand of Ezra is almost as uniform as that of the Mosaic authorship. It appears in the apocryphal Revelation of Ezra,* in the Clementine Homilies,† and in many of the Christian Fathers.‡ Aben Ezra in the twelfth century, and Carlstadt and Masius in the sixteenth, maintained that the so-called Books of Moses "were not composed by him in their present form, but by Ezra or some other inspired man, who substituted new names of places for old and obsolete ones, by which the memory of events could be best apprehended and preserved."§ In the seventeenth century we find Hobbes arguing that we should no more suppose these writings to have been composed by Moses, because they are commonly called Books of Moses,

* 2 Esdras, xiv, 19–48.

† Homily iii, chap. 47.

‡ Namely, Clement of Alex., *Strom.* 22; Tertullian, *De Cult. Fœm.*, iii; Irenæus, *Adv. Haer.* iii, 21; Chrysostom, *Hom.* viii, *in Ep. Heb.*; Theodoret, *Pref. in Psalmos*; Basil, *Ep. ad. Chilonem*; Jerome, *Adv. Helvid.*

§ Masius, Commentary on Joshua, at chap. xix, 47.

than we should believe the Books of Joshua, Ruth, and Samuel to have been written by the individuals whose names they bear, "for in titles of books the subject is marked as often as the writer." * Similar views were advanced by Isaac Peyrère, a French Protestant, who went over to Romanism, and also by Spinoza, who held that all the books from Genesis to Kings form one great historical work, composed of many documents of diverse authorship, not always in harmony with each other, but arranged and edited in their present form after the Babylonian exile, and probably by Ezra.† In the year 1678, Richard Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament appeared, and gave a new turn to Pentateuchal criticism by calling attention to the varieties of composition and style apparent even in closely connected narratives, (as in the account of the flood, especially in Gen. vii, 17–24.) Simon's work was sharply criticised by Le Clerc,‡ who, however, put forth the singular theory that the Pentateuch, though containing documents both older and later than Moses, was probably compiled by the exiled priest whom the king of Assyria sent to instruct the Samaritan colonists. 2 Kings xvii, 27. These various criticisms made little impression at the time of their appearance, but they opened the way for the more thorough study of the Pentateuch, which began about the middle of the eighteenth century, and continues with growing interest at the present hour. Modern criticism, so far as it has opposed the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, or attempted to explain its origin, exhibits a series of theories; and no intelligent discussion of the latest phases of Old Testament criticism is possible without some acquaintance with the history of these successive theories.

* Leviathan, part iii, chap. 33. English Works, vol. iii, pp. 369. Ed. Molesworth, Lond., 1839.

† This editor, he observes, "called the first five books after the name of Moses, because his life is the principal subject. For the same reason the sixth book is named Joshua, the seventh Judges," etc. Spinoza, *Opera*, vol. i, pp. 491. Ed. Van Vloten et Land, 1882.

‡ In an anonymous publication, entitled "Sentimens de quelques theologiens de Holland sur l'Histoire Critique du V. T." Amsterdam, 1685. Le Clerc soon after abandoned this theory, and in his Commentary on Genesis, first issued in 1693, maintained that passages of manifestly later date than the age of Moses were additions by a later editor. About the same time, Van Dale, a friend of Le Clerc, in a work on the Origin and Progress of Idolatry, advanced the theory that Ezra compiled the Pentateuch from a book of Mosaic laws and various historical and prophetical writings.

### Theory of Documents.

Biblical scholars like Vitringa and Calmet, who believed in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, admitted that the great lawgiver made free use of ancient traditions, genealogies, and annals of the patriarchs, arranging, revising, and supplementing them to suit his purpose. But the first attempt to indicate the number and distinctive character of these documents was made by Jean Astruc, professor of medicine in the College of France, who published at Brussels and Paris, in 1753, a work entitled "Conjectures upon the Original Memoirs which Moses appears to have used in Composing the Book of Genesis." This writer detected a noticeable use of the divine names Elohim and Jehovah, by means of which different chapters and sections of Genesis were distinguishable, and he conjectured that Moses had for the most part made use of two original memoirs, each of which was still traceable by the occurrence of one or the other of these names. He also held that, besides these principal sources, some nine or ten other documents might still be traced by the notable absence of any divine name, or by the use of another name than Elohim or Jehovah, (for example, Gen. xix, 30–38, xxii, 20–24, xxv, 12–18.) Astruc supposed that these different documents were at first arranged by Moses in separate columns, but were afterward copied in one continuous narrative, by which process some of them came to be misplaced.

Astruc's views do not appear to have commanded much attention until about 1762, when J. F. W. Jerusalem gave them a favorable notice in his Letters on the Mosaic Writings, and soon afterward Eichhorn, profiting by the work of all his predecessors in this field of criticism, gave them great notoriety, and presented them in more complete and scholarly form, first in his Repertorium for Biblical and Oriental Literature, (1779,) and subsequently in the successive editions of his Introduction to the Old Testament, (1780–1823.) Eichhorn's brilliant essays in this department of biblical study opened the way for a host of similar attempts to ascertain the age and authorship of the constituent parts of the Pentateuch. John G. Hasse maintained that it was compiled at the time of the Babylonian exile, from writings which belonged in part to Moses, but

which had become greatly enlarged and altered by later hands.* F. C. Fulda also argued that portions of the Pentateuch are of Mosaic authorship, such as the decalogue, most of the songs contained in the last four books, and the list of encampments in Numbers xxxiii. He supposed that a collection of laws was made in the time of David, but that our Pentateuch in its present form was composed by some unknown redactor after the exile.† Similar views were put forward by H. Corrodi,‡ G. L. Bauer,§ and K. D. Ilgen.‖ This last named writer attempted a more minute analysis of Genesis than that of Eichhorn, and maintained the theory of a second Elohist. Eichhorn himself modified some of his earlier views in the fourth edition of his *Einleitung* (1824.)

### Theory of Fragments.

Near the close of the last and in the earlier part of the present century, several rationalistic critics endeavored to show that the Pentateuch was of a more fragmentary character than the current theory of documents allowed. Some of the advocates of that hypothesis, however, had given utterance to opinions which led very naturally to the conclusion that these books were but a loose compilation of heterogeneous fragments. This theory was formerly advanced by Alexander Geddes, a Roman Catholic divine, in his annotated new translation of the Bible, the first volume of which appeared in London in 1792. He held that the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua were compiled by the same author, and consisted of a great variety of composite elements, some coeval with Moses, some older and some later, and some of them probably oral traditions. He argued that it could not have been written before the time of David, nor after that of Hezekiah, and probably belonged to

* Aussichten zu künftigen Aufklärungen über das A. T., Jena, 1785. This writer afterwards changed his opinion, and held that the five books were as a whole the work of Moses, but had received at various times numerous glosses and supplements until Ezra finally revised them and gave them their present form. Entdeckungen, Halle, 1805.

† Paulus's Neuen Repertorium für bib. und morgenl. Literatur, iii, p. 180. 1791.

‡ Versuch einer Beleuchtung der Geschichte des jüdischen und christlichen Bibelkanons. Halle, 1792.

§ Entwürf einer Einleitung in das A. T. 1794.

‖ Urkunde des jerusalemischen Tempelarchivs in ihrer Urgestalt. Halle, 1798.

the period of Solomon's long and peaceful reign. J. G. Nachtigal (under the name of Otmar) published a similar view in Henke's Magazin für Religionsphilosophie, Exegese und Kirchengeschichte, and at first (volume ii, 1794) maintained that much of the Pentateuch may have originated with Moses, and all of it may have been collected and arranged in its present form before the division of the kingdom; but the next year (vol. iv, 1795) he attributed to Moses little else than the decalogue, the list of encampments in the desert, a few genealogical tables, and a few songs. He aimed to show that, besides some documents of that kind, there were probably very few, if any, literary monuments among the Hebrews before the time of Samuel, but that in the schools of the prophets and among wise men numerous histories and songs were composed. These were afterward collected into books, and thus originated the so-called Books of Moses, which were brought to their present form about the time of the Babylonian exile, and perhaps under the supervision of Jeremiah. Substantially the same hypothesis was advocated in Vater's Commentary on the Pentateuch, (3 parts, Halle, 1802–5.) This writer argued, from the non-observance of many important Mosaic laws, that they could not have been in existence before the reign of David or Solomon. A. T. Hartmann subsequently repeated these arguments, and maintained that the art of writing was unknown among the Israelites until the age of the Judges, and was not used in the composition of books until Samuel's time.* Von Böhlen took the position that Deuteronomy is the oldest portion of the Pentateuch, and first appeared in the time of Josiah. The other books were subsequently added, but the entire work could not have been completed until after the exile.† In substantial accord with Von Böhlen were the conclusions of W. Vatke,‡ and J. F. L. George;§ but these last two writers anticipated in some important points the theory of the gradual development of the religion of Israel, which has become so prominent in recent critical

* Hist.-krit. Forschungen über die Bildung, das Zeitalter und den Plan der fünf Bücher Moses. Rostock, 1831.

† Die Genesis hist.-krit. erläutert. Königsb., 1835.

‡ Bibliche Theologie. Berlin, 1835.

§ Die älteren jüdischen Feste, mit einer Kritik der Gesetzgebung des Pentateuchs. Berlin, 1835.

discussions. De Wette also for a long time held to the theory of fragments, but his work may be better treated in another connection.

### Theory of Supplements.

The Fragment-Hypothesis soon became unsatisfactory to some of its ablest advocates. It was mainly held by extreme rationalists, who treated the Mosaic narratives as altogether mythical or legendary. But the unity of the Pentateuch was too apparent, and the evidences of plan and purpose running through the whole were too many for the most arbitrary critics to set aside. One of Ewald's earliest publications contributed largely to establishing the unity of the Book of Genesis.* The way for what is commonly known as the Hypothesis of Supplements was prepared by such writers as Bertholdt, Herbst, and Volney, men not readily classed with any special school, but who maintained that the Pentateuch was in great part the work of Moses, but much revised and supplemented by later hands. According to Bertholdt, the work was brought to its present form sometime between the beginning of Saul's and the end of Solomon's reign.† According to Herbst, the final redaction was probably made, after Ezra's time, by the college of Elders.‡ Volney allowed less to Moses, and supposed that the Pentateuch in its present form was the product of the combined labors of Hilkiah, Shaphan, Achbor, (2 Kings xxii, 8–12,) and other scribes and prophets of the age of Josiah. §

De Wette made use of all the suggestions of his predecessors, and in his earlier publications on this subject adopted in the main the Hypothesis of Fragments. Many single fragments of the Pentateuch could not, in his opinion, have originated earlier than the times of David. The different narratives were written independently of one another, and afterward put together by different collectors. The compilation of Leviticus was probably by another hand, and certainly later than that of Exodus. Numbers was a supplement to the earlier collections,

* Die Komposition der Genesis kritische untersucht. 1823.

† Hist.-krit. Einleitung, Theil iii. 1813.

‡ Observationes de Pent. 4 librorum posteriorum auctore et editore, 1817. In his Introduction, however, edited and published after his death, (1840–44,) the redaction is placed in the time of David.

§ Recherches nouvelles sur l'Histoire Ancienne. 1814.

and Deuteronomy was composed in the time of Josiah.* He subsequently modified his views, and in the fifth and sixth editions of his Introduction to the Old Testament (1840, 1845) he maintained that the Pentateuch and Joshua bore evidences of a threefold redaction, showing traces, first, of the Elohist, second, of the Jehovist, and third, of the Deuteronomist. The earliest of these must have lived after the Israelites were ruled by kings, and the latest belonged to the time of Josiah. He also allowed that among the sources employed by the first redactor were many ancient and genuine monuments of the Mosaic age.

The views of Friedrich Bleek were, like those of De Wette, gradually developed. As early as 1822 he maintained † that there are many parts of the Pentateuch which cannot be later than the age of Moses, and nothing which requires us to believe that the last revision was made as late as the time of the Babylonian exile. His more mature views appear in his Lectures on Old Testament Introduction,‡ according to which the most ancient and original documents now contained in the Pentateuch and Joshua were worked up into one continuous narrative by a first writer, commonly called the Elohist. This was the *Grundschrift*, or fundamental writing, and contained an account of the creation, the flood, and the lives of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, and Joshua, and was probably composed in the time of Saul. It embraced documents older than the time of Moses, and a large portion of the laws which were enacted by Moses himself. The writer employed the name Elohim until he came to the narrative of Moses's life, after which the name of Jehovah appears. This fundamental history was made the basis of a larger work, namely, that of the Jehovist, who lived in the time of David, and supplemented the Elohistic writing with numerous additions. This Jehovist produced the first four books of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua in substantially the form in which

* Dissertatio qua Deut. a prioribus Pent. libris diversum alius cujusdam recentioris auctoris opus esse demonstratur. Jena, 1805. De Wette set forth essentially the same views in the first edition of his Beiträge zur Einleitung ins A. T. 1806–7.

† In Rosenmüller's Bib. exeget. Repertorium. Leipzig.

‡ Edited and published after his death by J. Bleek and A. Kamphausen. Berlin, 1860. English translation by Venables, London, 1875.

we find them now, (excepting particularly Lev. xxvi, 3–45.) The final redaction was made by the author of Deuteronomy sometime during the reign of Manasseh.

This Theory of Supplements received the support of J. J. Stähelin,* who, however, would not allow that any part of our Pentateuch was composed by Moses. He held it to be a work of Samuel, or of one of his scholars, based upon an older history which extended from the creation of the world to the conquest of Canaan, and contained a large part of Genesis, nearly all the three middle books of the Pentateuch, and the geographical portions of the Book of Joshua. Friedrich Tuch also adopted this theory, but supposed the Elohist to have written in the time of Saul, and the Jehovist in the time of Solomon.† Ewald is noted for propounding an analysis of the Pentateuch and Joshua so minute as to detect therein the work of eight different writers, whose several parts, with the dates of composition, his critical instinct assumed to determine with remarkable nicety. He recognized a fundamental Elohistic document, which extended from the creation to the time of Solomon, and embraced three older writings, namely, the Book of Jehovah's Wars, a life of Moses, and the Book of the Covenants. This ancient history he named the Great Book of Origins, and attributed it to a contemporary of Solomon.‡ To this work subsequent writers made numerous additions, and the Hexateuch received its present form from the Deuteronomist, who wrote in Egypt during the latter part of Manasseh's reign.§ Cæsar Von Lengerke also placed the composition of the

* First in his Kritische Untersuchungen über die Genesis, (Basel, 1830.) then in the Studien und Kritiken for 1835, and more fully in his Kritische Untersuchungen über den Pentateuch, die Bücher Josua, Richter, Samuel's und der Könige. Berlin, 1843.

† Kommentar über die Genesis. Halle, 1838.

‡ For this writer Ewald confesses the highest admiration: "Lofty spirit! Thou whose work has for centuries not irrationally had the fortune of being taken for that of thy great hero Moses himself, I know not thy name, and divine only from thy vestiges when thou didst live, and what thou didst achieve; but if these thy traces incontrovertibly forbid me to identify thee with him who was greater than thou, and whom thou thyself only desiredst to magnify according to his deserts, then see that there is no guile in me, nor any pleasure in knowing thee not absolutely as thou wert!" History of Israel, English translation, vol. i, p. 96.

§ Geschichte des Volkes Israel, vol. i, first issued in 1843. English translation by Martineau, London, 1869.

Elohistic document in the time of Solomon, and supposed it to have been enlarged by the Jehovist in the time of Hezekiah, and further worked over and supplemented by the Deuteronomist, who brought it to its present form (excepting, perhaps, Deut. xxxiii) during the reign of Josiah.* Vaihinger makes the three different writers to be a Pre-Elohist, (of whose work only a few fragments remain,) the Elohist, and the Jehovist.† Hupfeld made out four writers, the Elohist, a second Elohist, a Jehovist, and a Redactor, who gave the entire work its final unity and finish.‡ Böhmer adopted Hupfeld's theory in the main, but attempted to ascertain more definitely the extent of the Redactor's work.§ Riehm labored to show that Deuteronomy is a literary fiction, but in no way a dishonest or blameworthy performance; from the mention of ships in chap. xxviii, 68, he concluded that it was written in the time of Manasseh.‖ Knobel produced one of the most minute and elaborate works on the Pentateuch extant, and distributed its several component parts among five different writers, namely, the authors of the fundamental document, (Grundschrift,) the Book of the Upright, (Rechtsbuch,) and the War-book, (Kriegsbuch,) the Jehovist, and the Deuteronomist. The first of these lived probably in the time of Saul, the last under Josiah.¶ Nöldeke apportioned the work among at least four writers, the Elohist, the Jehovist, a Redactor, and the Deuteronomist, the first of whom was a priest living at Jerusalem in the time of David or Solomon, the last in the reign of Josiah.**

Other writers, less distinguished, contributed to the elaboration of this Theory of Supplements, each one producing some new discovery touching the relationship of the different parts of the Pentateuch. Among the more recent and thorough

* Kenaan, Volks-und Religions-Geschichte Israels bis zum Tode des Josua. Königsb., 1844.

† Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie, art. Pentateuch. Stuttgardt, 1856.

‡ Die Quellen der Genesis. Berlin, 1853.

§ Liber Genesis Pentateuchicus. 1860. Davidson's views correspond substantially with those of Hupfeld and Böhmer. Introduction to the Old Testament, vol. i, 1862.

‖ Gesetzgebung Mosis im Lande Moab. Gotha, 1854.

¶ Kritik des Pent. und Josua, at the end of his commentary on these books in the Kurzgefasstes exegetiches Handbuch zum A. T. Leipzig, 1861.

** Untersuchungen zur Kritik des A. T. Kiel, 1869

discussions of this hypothesis is that of Schrader, as given in the eighth edition of De Wette's *Einleitung*, (Berlin, 1869.) He supposes four successive writers, and points out their characteristic differences of language, style, and religious conceptions. The first he calls the Annalist, who belonged to the earlier part of David's reign; the second wrote soon after the division of the kingdom, and is named the Theocratic Narrator. These two writers composed separate and independent works, which were combined a generation later and supplemented by a third writer, who is called the Prophetic Narrator. The final redactor of the Pentateuch was the Deuteronomist, who composed his book and revised the whole before the eighteenth year of Josiah's reign.

Delitzsch and Kurtz, while holding to the Mosaic origin of the main parts of the Pentateuch, adopt the essential elements of the supplementary hypothesis. In the Introduction of his Commentary on Genesis Delitzsch makes Exod. xix–xxiv the kernel of the Pentateuch, and supposes it to have been written by Moses. The other laws were given orally by Moses and written down by the priests. Deuteronomy must be accepted as in substance the work of Moses. After the conquest and occupation of Canaan, some man like Eleazar (Num. xxvi, 1; xxxi, 21) compiled the main (Elohistic) work, incorporating in it the roll of the covenant, and, perhaps, the last words of Moses. This was supplemented by Joshua (Deut. xxxii, 44; Josh. xxiv, 26) or one of the elders, (Num. xi, 25,) who added Deuteronomy in its present form, and the Jehovistic sections. *

* Commentar über die Genesis, p. 31. Leipzig, 1872. Much has been said of the recent change in Delitzsch's views, which appear in a series of twelve articles in Luthardt's Zeitschrift fur kirchliche Wissenschaft for 1880. He now admits the use of parallel documents running through much of the Pentateuch, the priority of the Jehovistic portions, and that Deuteronomy comes between the two. Excepting the priority of the Jehovist these latter views are not materially different from those advanced in his Commentary on Genesis. He still maintains the Mosaic origin of much of the Pentateuch, but concedes that many of the laws originated with the needs of the people at a later day, and maintains that the legislation begun by Moses was doubtless continued by the priests, to which such matters were intrusted after Moses's death. He believes that Deuteronomy is in substance Mosaic, but in form has been modified by the subjectivity and style of the writer, (the Deuteronomiker,) who nevertheless was in fullest spiritual accord with Moses, and has reproduced his last traditional discourses in an authentic form. He rejects the main positions of the theories of the school of Wellhausen, and strenuously opposes the notion that Deuteronomy originated at

According to Kurtz, the Pentateuch is of Mosaic origin in that it was, in the main, prepared under Moses's direct supervision, and completed by his assistants and contemporaries. Probably Moses himself composed with his own hand only those portions which are expressly attributed to him. In the historical parts he admits two distinct sources, a fundamental and a supplementary writing. The last revision of the entire work as we possess it was probably made near the close of Joshua's life, or, perhaps, soon after his death.*

### Theory of Ethnic Development.

We thus designate the latest phase of Old Testament criticism, which is particularly noted for the stress it lays upon the national religious development of the Israelitish people, and the dates and order of what it affirms to be distinct and successive legal codes. We have noticed above that Von Böhlen, Vatke, and George, as early as 1835, maintained that Deuteronomy is the oldest book of the Pentateuch. But the monograph of K. H. Graf on the Historical Books of the Old Testament (Leipzig, 1866) marked an epoch in the criticism of the Pentateuch. This writer was a pupil of Prof. Edward Reuss, who had long previously argued for the priority of Deuteronomy, but whose more fully developed views were published at a later date. Graf's theory supposes an ancient Elohistic work which has been subjected to three great revisions and enlargements. The first was done by the Jehovist in the time of the earlier kings, and contained the legislation recorded in Exod. xiii, xx–xxiii, and xxxiv. The second was made by the Deuteronomist, who was the author of the book found by Hilkiah. 2 Kings xxii, 8. This book is supposed to have been that portion of our Deuteronomy which extends from chap. iv, 45, to chap. xxix, 1, excepting chap. xxvii. Its author made free use of the older work of the Jehovist, and afterward combined that work with his own and added Deut. i–iv, 44, as a new preface. The third revision was made during and after the Babylonian exile, and is notable for having added, in the body of the work,

the time of Josiah. He admits that Ezra may have participated in the codification of the Mosaic laws, but he stoutly controverts the idea that the Levitical legislation was a post-exilian fiction.

* History of the Old Covenant, English translation, vol. iii, p. 502 ff.

the Levitical legislation, which now appears in Exod. xii, xxv–xxxi, xxxv–xl, most of Leviticus, and the greater part of Numbers. These Levitical laws are held to exhibit numerous evidences of a later origin and a more elaborate ritual than those of Deuteronomy.*

This theory of the origin of the law-books of Israel was taken up and presented in a still more radical form by A. Kuenen, first in his Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Books of the Old Testament, (Leyden, 1861–65,) and later in his Religion of Israel, (1869–70,) his Five Books of Moses, (1872,) and his Prophets and Prophecy in Israel, (1875.)† According to Kuenen, the religion of Israel is nothing more nor less than one of the principal religions of the world, and must be explained in its genesis and development like all other religions. The Israelites in Egypt were probably polytheists; by and by they came to consider their national deity as distinct from other gods, and called him El Shaddai; afterward they were taught by Moses, who gave them the decalogue, to call this god Jehovah. The stories of the patriarchs are ancient myths, and have been wrought over by various writers. The first written documents of note are those of the prophets of the eighth century before Christ, such as Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, and the historical books of the Kings. Under the ministry of the prophets the worship of Jehovah became purer, and during the reign of Hezekiah the Book of Deuteronomy was written and made to serve the purpose described in 2 Kings xxii and xxiii. A programme of national worship was outlined by Ezekiel, and became the basis of the subsequent Levitical legislation, which first came into use after the return from exile, and was formulated by Ezra. This distinguished scribe compiled the voluminous Book of the Law in the shape in which we now possess it.

This theory, strange as it may seem, has captivated many modern critics, and is maintained in substance by Kalisch in

* Die geschichtliche Bucher des A. T. Leipzig, 1866. Graf subsequently so far modified his theory as to make the work of the Jehovist the original kernel of the Pentateuch, and to place the Elohist after the Levitical legislation, about B. C. 450. Grundschrift des Pentateuchs, in Merx's Archiv., 1869.

† This work on the Prophets has been translated into English by Milroy. (London, 1877,) and that on the Religion of Israel by May. 3 volumes. London, 1874.

his Commentary on Leviticus,* by Aug. Kayser,† by Bishop Colenso,‡ and by Smend in his recent Commentary on Ezekiel. § But among all its advocates the most famous at the present time are probably Profs. Wellhausen and Reuss in Germany, and W. Robertson Smith in Scotland. According to Wellhausen, the Pentateuch is composed of three separate and independent works, which were wrought over, and, with additions from other sources, fashioned into one connected whole by Ezra or one of his contemporaries. The oldest document is the work of the Jehovist, compiled from previously existing Jehovistic and Elohistic records, and therefore by this critic designated by the letters J. E. This ancient composition was mainly historical, but contained the laws of Exod. xx–xxv. The second in order of the great documents was Deuteronomy, composed in the reign of Josiah, (designated D.) The third, called the Priest-Codex, (P. C.,) contained the laws of Exod. xxvi–xl, Leviticus, and Numbers i–x, and was accompanied by a historical introduction reflecting the spirit and opinions of the time of the exile when it was produced. This Priest-Codex is also called the Book of the Four Covenants, (designated Q., from the Latin *Quatuor.*) After the exile Ezra or one of his generation constructed our present Pentateuch by a free use of all these documents, and also of other materials at his command. ‖

Edward Reuss, of Strasburg, claims to have advanced this theory as early as the year 1834, and says that in many respects it was with him "a product of intuition." ¶ After slowly elaborating it in his university lectures for nearly half a century,

* Issued in two parts. London, 1867, 1872.

† In his Vorexilische Buch der Urgeschichte Israels und seine Erweiterungen. Strasburg, 1874.

‡ The Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua Critically Examined. Seven parts. London, 1862–79. This series of publications from a Bishop of the Established Church, especially the first few parts, greatly stirred up the English theological world, and called out a library of replies.

§ Der Prophet Ezechiel. Leipzig, 1880.

‖ Wellhausen's views appear in his essay on the Composition of the Hexateuch in the Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie, (1876–77;) in his edition of Bleek's Einleitung in das A. T., (Berlin, 1878,) and in his Geschichte Israels. Erster Band. Berlin, 1878. New edition, entitled Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels. 1883.

¶ Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften A. T., p. vii. Braunschweig, 1881.

he has recently published his matured critical analysis and arrangement of the whole body of Old Testament literature in a large octavo, entitled "The History of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament." He traces the composition of the Pentateuch through four distinct stages, the oldest portion of which was first compiled in the time of Jehoshaphat. This was subsequently revised and supplemented with important additions by the Jehovist. The third great contribution was made by the Deuteronomist in the time of Josiah, and the fourth, containing the Levitical legislation, was incorporated with the whole after the exile. W. R. Smith's position is not materially different from that of the school of Reuss, though he presents his views with greater moderation and caution. He distinguishes three separate groups of laws, which he calls the First Legislation, (Exod. xxi–xxiii,) the Deuteronomic Code, (especially Deut. xii–xxvi,) and the Levitical Legislation, which is scattered through Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers. The exact date of Deuteronomy is not determined, but "the book became the programme of Josiah's reformation, because it gathered up in practical form the results of the great movement under Hezekiah and Isaiah, and the new divine teaching then given to Israel."* The distinctive features of the Levitical legislation were first sketched by Ezekiel, afterward developed in numerous details, incorporated with many ancient laws and traditions, and adapted "to the circumstances of the second temple, when Jerusalem was no longer a free State, but only the center of a religious community possessing certain municipal privileges of self-government."† So far as these laws or writings are ascribed to Moses, they are to be understood merely as a legitimate continuation of a cultus which began with Moses. They were by conventional usage, or legal fiction, called ordinances of Moses, but every one would understand that they were not of Mosaic authorship.

The adverse criticism of the Pentateuch has called out numerous replies from scholars who have steadfastly defended the traditional belief. Among the most eminent of these we may name, of the older writers, Carpzov, Witsius, Vitringa, and Calmet; and, in later times, Hengstenberg, Hävernick, Keil,

* The Old Testament in the Jewish Church, p. 363. Edinburgh, 1881.

† *Ibid*, p. 382.

M'Donald, and Green. Not a few of the ablest and most satisfactory answers to the several theories above detailed are to be found in the higher periodicals of Germany, England, and America. These vary in their methods of defense, some admitting numerous documents and interpolations, while others are slow to concede that any thing save the account of Moses's death is inconsistent with Mosaic authorship.

### Results of Criticism.

What now, we may ask, are the results of all this critical study of the Pentateuch? It will be conceded, by every one competent to judge, that the researches and discussions of the Higher Criticism have developed a more thorough and scientific study of the Old Testament. Philological, archæological, and historical questions connected with Hebrew literature have been investigated with rich results to the cause of sacred learning. As to the origin and authorship of the Pentateuch, we regard the following propositions as fairly settled:

1. The Pentateuch contains a number of passages which cannot, without doing violence to sound critical principles, be attributed to Moses as their author.

2. The Pentateuch, especially the Book of Genesis, contains documents of various dates and authorship, which have been worked over into an orderly and homogeneous whole.

3. The laws of the Pentateuch were either unknown or else very largely neglected and violated during most of the period between the conquest of Canaan and the Babylonian captivity.

4. The Books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers show different stages of legislation, and Leviticus contains a noticeably fuller and more elaborate priestly code and ritual than appear in Deuteronomy.

We are frank to say that we regard the above propositions as simple statements of fact. But the divergent and conflicting opinions detailed in the foregoing pages admonish us that many unsound and illogical conclusions may be drawn from well-established facts. It is one thing to recognize positive results of criticism; quite another to accept theories which the critics build, or assume to build, upon such results. The discussion of the four propositions stated above must be reserved for another article.

## Art. II.—THE OPIUM TRAFFIC IN CHINA.

[Second Article.]

The previous article on this subject having treated of the history of the traffic, it is proposed in the present article to consider its results, to show what has been and is the Chinese opinion in regard to it, to discuss the relation of the United States to the trade, to trace the efforts that have been made for its suppression, and to indicate what ought to be done to accomplish that result.

### II. The Results of the Traffic.

If the opium trade were in itself devoid of all evil qualities, there would still be no justification for the methods by which it has been imposed upon the Chinese nation; but its iniquity appears in still more hideous proportions when we survey its results.

1. *The results to the victims of the traffic.*—Occasionally some one has been found with hardihood enough to deny that any evil result comes from opium-smoking in general, and even to affirm that it is rather a harmless indulgence. Probably the most notable instance of this sort is to be found in a letter addressed by Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, & Co., of Hong-Kong, to the governor of that colony in 1867. The British Treaty with China was about to be revised, and this mercantile firm, well known as the most extensive dealers in opium of all the merchants in China, solicited the governor to bring their views in regard to the revision before the British government. In this letter they say:

> Since 1860 it has been rendered abundantly clear that the use of opium is not a curse, but a comfort and a benefit, to the hard-working Chinese. As well say that malt is a curse to the English laborer, or tobacco one to the world at large! Misuse is one thing; use, another. If to a few the opium pipe has proved a fatal snare, to many scores of thousands, on the other hand, has it been productive of healthful sustentation and enjoyment. Were we not well assured that these statements are true, we should not press this matter as we are now doing; but after the evidence of the past we feel justified in claiming that those who deal in opium shall be permitted to supply the inland Chinese with the drug as freely as are the dwellers at the ports.

It is not difficult to detect in this extract the special pleading of an interested party, or to trace the similarity of its arguments to those of the liquor-seller; but it seems passing strange that a firm of reputable merchants would dare put forth such a statement where it must necessarily be scrutinized by intelligent people. Once in a while a physician, whose handsome support was derived from opium-dealing firms, has uttered like opinions; and from time to time such views have been expressed by defenders of the traffic in the halls of Parliament. But the unvarying and overwhelming testimony of Chinese statesmen and people, of British officials, of travelers, of medical men, and of missionaries, shows, beyond all question, the terrible effect of the death-dealing drug.

Prince Kung and his colleagues, in a dispatch to the British Minister in 1869, say:

That opium is like a deadly poison, that it is most injurious to mankind, and a most serious provocative of ill feeling, is, the writers think, perfectly well known to his Excellency, and it is therefore needless for them to enlarge further on these points.

The K'euen Keae Shay, a Chinese society for the promotion of abstinence from opium, embracing many mandarins and gentlemen of high rank in Canton and its vicinity, in reply to an address of the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade, in 1876, say of the effects of opium-smoking that,

1. It squanders wealth. 2. It interrupts industry. 3. It destroys life. 4. It cramps talent. 5. It disorganizes government. 6. It enfeebles the defenders of the country. 7. It loosens the bonds of society. 8. It corrupts the morals of the people.

In an address issued by the same society to their countrymen, they say:

Opium-smoking ruins family estates, destroys bodies and souls of men more than can be reckoned; and in recent times there is nothing which can compare with this in injuring the people. Yellow gold is given in exchange for this black dirt; fertile fields are planted with this poisonous thing. Every day, every month, its votaries increase. Those who were well off are reduced to rags; their fine houses and rich lands all quickly transmuted into a cloud of smoke. How terrible it is!

Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister, in a dispatch to his own government, says:

It is to me vain to think otherwise of the use of the drug in China than as of a habit many times more pernicious, nationally

speaking, than the gin and whisky drinking which we deplore at home. It takes possession more insidiously, and keeps its hold to the full as tenaciously. I know no case of radical cure. It has insured in every case within my knowledge the steady descent, moral and physical, of the smoker, and is so far a greater mischief than drink, that it does not, by external evidence of its effects, expose its victim to the loss of repute, which is the penalty of habitual drunkenness.

Mr. C. V. Aitchison, the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, says:

The habitual use of the drug saps the physical and mental energies, destroys the nerves, emaciates the body, predisposes to disease, induces indolent and filthy habits of life, destroys self-respect; is one of the most fertile sources of misery, destitution, and crime; fills the jails with men of relaxed frames, predisposed to dysentery and cholera; prevents the due extension of cultivation and the development of the land revenue; checks the natural growth of the population, and enfeebles the constitution of succeeding generations.

These are certainly strong testimonies from the highest Chinese and British sources. Let us now call to the stand physicians of eminent repute who have personally witnessed the effects of opium-smoking in China. J. L. Maxwell, M.D., for many years engaged in hospital work at Amoy and on the island of Formosa, says:

When the daily habit is entered upon, a few weeks are sufficient to make the effort to throw off the chain so severe a tax, alike on the physical and moral strength of a man, that without help he rarely comes off the victor. It is this insidious and quiet and comparatively speedy way in which it takes firm hold of its victim that renders opium-smoking so much more dangerous a vice in many respects than spirit-drinking.

William Gauld, M.D., for eighteen years in hospital work at Swatow, says:

The opium-smoker has a peculiar sallow skin, and usually blue, congested lips. This arises from the effect of opium. It acts upon every nerve-cell, and probably every nerve-fiber. At first the effect of it is slightly stimulant, but afterward it is depressing and deadening, and the more a man smokes opium the more his whole system gets deadened. That is to say, his functions are not in a normally active state. This is manifested in a very simple way. For instance, the bowels of the opium-smoker do not act perhaps oftener than once in ten days, or once in fifteen days, and sometimes once a month. I have known such cases. It is the same with respiration. The blood gradually becomes

less and less oxidized, and the venous system becomes congested. Hence you have that blue state of the lips and the shortness of breath of a confirmed opium-smoker.

D. B. M'Cartee, M.D., after twenty-five years' experience in his profession at Ningpo, wrote as follows:

As to the effects of opium upon the smokers, 1. Physically: it enervates them, gradually undermines their constitutions, and very frequently, either from their inability to procure the drug, or from its losing its effect upon them, or (as in several instances that have come under my observation) owing to a resolute endeavor to break off the habit, an incurable "opium diarrhea" sets in, and carries off the victim in a short time. 2. Morally: it not only undermines the physical constitution, it also blunts the moral sense, and in aggravated or even confirmed cases there is no depth of meanness or depravity to which the poor wretches will not stoop to stop the insupportable craving for the drug.

He mentions two cases which had come under his own personal observation of young men whose habit of opium-smoking had led them into such scandalous conduct that their own parents, with the approval of the head men of their clan, caused them to be sewn up in mats, thrown into the river, and drowned!

Much more medical testimony might be adduced if our space would allow. Let us listen to the evidence of a few travelers. The Abbé Huc, the celebrated Roman Catholic traveler, says:

With the exception of some rare smokers, all others advance rapidly toward death, after having passed through successive stages of idleness, debauchery, poverty, the ruin of their physical strength, and the complete prostration of their intellectual and moral faculties. Nothing can stop a smoker who has made much progress in the habit.

M. Carné, after his return from his travels in China, wrote in the *Revue des Deux Mondes:*

I do not believe there has ever been a more terrible scourge in the world than opium. The alcohol employed by Europeans to destroy savages, the plague that ravages a country, cannot be compared to opium.

Mr. T. T. Cooper, the celebrated English traveler, says:

It is a very common thing to see half-naked men lying dead, simply from want of opium. It leads to crime in every way. Men will sell their children, their wives, their mothers, their fathers, to get opium.

Mr. R. N. Fowler, M. P., in giving an account of his visit to China, says:

Mr. Nye, a merchant of long experience, said that of the ten great Hong merchants who carried on the trade when he came to Canton forty-two years ago, the families of nine had been ruined by opium-smoking. A town was mentioned which is becoming depopulated by it. Literary men smoke a great deal, and young men often take to it and are ruined. . . . Dr. Eitel took me to an opium-boiling establishment. There were eighteen men at work preparing it to be put in boxes and sent to California. Dr. Dudgeon had shortly before visited this place and questioned the proprietor, who said he considered opium a great evil, and did not allow any of his men to smoke it, but he carried on the business for the sake of profit. One cannot wonder at this reasoning in a heathen. This and other houses are in connection with a man who farms the right to boil opium, and pays $120,000 a year for three years to our government for it. Dr. Eitel considers that it is destroying the population, as opium-smokers have no children.

Missionaries of all nationalities, and of all denominations, are unanimous in their testimony as to the evil effects of the drug. It is only possible to give the words of a few representative men.

The Rev. Walter Medhurst, D. D., for forty years a faithful missionary of the London Missionary Society, says:

Calculating the shortened lives, the frequent diseases, and the actual starvation which are the result of opium-smoking in China, we may venture to assert that this pernicious drug annually destroys myriads of individuals. . . . Slavery was not more productive of misery and death than is the opium traffic, nor were Britons more implicated in the former than in the latter.

Mr. Alexander Wylie, who was for seventeen years superintendent of the London Missionary Society's press at Shanghai, and afterward for fifteen years traveled extensively through the empire as agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, says:

Any one who has lived half of that time [that is, half of twenty years] among the Chinese, can scarcely have a doubt as to the destructive effects of opium, physically, mentally, and morally. Undoubtedly this is one of the greatest evils with which China is affected, and, unless some means be found to check the practice, it bids fair to accomplish the utter destruction, morally and physically, of that great empire.

The Rev. Griffith John, for nearly thirty years a missionary of the London Missionary Society at Shanghai and Hankow, says:

Opium is not only robbing the Chinese of millions of money year by year, but is actually destroying them as a people. It undermines the constitution, ruins the health, and shortens the life of the smoker, destroys every domestic happiness and prosperity, and is gradually effecting the physical, mental, and moral deterioration of the nation as a nation. The Chinese tell us that a large proportion of the regular opium-smokers are childless, and that the children of the others are few, feeble, and sickly. They also affirm that the family of the opium-smoker will be extinct in the third generation.

The Rev. F. W. Baller, of the China Inland Mission, who was very active in the relief of the sufferers in the great famine of 1876, says:

I was in the province of Shan-si, and the native testimony is that those who first suffered, and on whom the famine had the greatest effect, were opium-smokers. They were carried off first. . . . I believe that in these famine-smitten districts . . . millions of men were carried off simply from the fact that their whole constitution was undermined by the practice of opium-smoking.

The Rev. Dr. Legge, Professor of the Chinese Language and Literature at Oxford University, says:

It is as certain as any thing can be that the opium traffic, unless it be arrested, will reduce the empire of China to beggary and ruin.

Similar testimonies might be added by the hundred. The great Missionary Conference at Shanghai in 1877 gave voice to the unanimous conviction of the missionaries of China in its resolution "that opium-smoking is a vice highly injurious, physically, morally, and socially."

2. *The results on missionary work.*—Turning now from the effect of the opium traffic upon those who use the drug, to consider its effect upon the missionary work, we shall find it to be one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of Christianity among the Chinese people.

When Bishop Schereschewsky, of the American Protestant Episcopal Church, visited the ancient city of Kai-feng-fu in the province of Honan, in 1869, a crowd gathered about him, and quickly expelled him from the city, shouting after him, "You burned our palace, you killed our Emperor, *you sell poison to the people*, and now you come to teach us virtue!"

The Bishop of Victoria testifies that again and again, while preaching, he has been stopped with the question, "Are you an Englishman? Is not that the country the opium comes from? Go back and stop it, and then we will talk about Christianity."

The native Christians of Canton, in their address to the Anti-Opium Society, speak in emphatic terms of the opium traffic as a hinderance to the propagation of the truth. They testify that they constantly hear the heathen Chinese saying:

The foreigners who preach the doctrine of Jesus affirm that he taught men to love others as themselves, and always to bear in mind the Golden Rule; but every year they import opium into China, and injure thereby millions of their fellow-creatures. Lately the quantity imported has increased, and the injury it produces has increased in proportion; as if they meant to carry off all the wealth of China, and to drain away the life-blood of the people before they stop. When men only think of what profits themselves, and are regardless of the injury done to others to such an extent as this, how can they be said to love others as themselves? How can we believe their doctrine and follow their religion?

The heathen Anti-Opium Society of Canton says to the Anti-Opium Society of England:

Since the removal of the restrictions from the opium trade, the profits accruing therefrom have been shared only by a few of your countrymen resident in China, while the rest, who have been pursuing other lawful callings, are, by the Chinese, mixed up with them, *and all are tarred with the same brush.* . . . Your countrymen come here to preach the Gospel, and their object is to make converts, and thus spread abroad the love of God to men. But their hearers continually ask, "Why don't you go home and exhort your own people not to sell opium, since you are so bent on exhortation?" And it is impossible for the missionaries entirely to stop their mouths. On this account not only are few converts made, but the whole Christian doctrine is suspected to be an imposition. Thus the zeal of your missionaries is wasted.

The same society in another document says:

Suppose the case reversed, and that some other nation had a poisonous article which was injurious to great Britain. We know well Great Britain would not suffer it to be brought to her own detriment. And if you would object to its being brought, you ought equally object to its being sent to hurt others. The New Testament says again, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them." *Is it possible that the instruction of the Saviour has never yet reached the ear of your honored country?*

There can be no question that there is a very deep and genuine feeling among the Chinese people that this awful traffic is a great wrong, utterly indefensible on any moral ground. The above extracts indicate how this feeling constantly rises up in objection to a religion which is brought to them by the same people who bring the opium. It is not easy for them to make the distinction between nominal and real Christians, and when missionaries endeavor to teach such distinction, in answer to the objections to Christianity growing out of this traffic, the ever-recurring reply is, "Why don't you get your own people to be real Christians, then?" So every-where this traffic and its results become an obstacle of the most formidable character. It is doubtful whether the idolatrous habits and customs of centuries are as much in the way of the triumph of Christianity to-day as is this accursed traffic. It is an omnipresent and awful reality, affecting all classes of society. Its direful work has become familiar to the people before the Gospel messenger appears, and it shuts their hearts against his message. The calm judgment of the men best fitted to formulate an opinion was expressed by the General Conference at Shanghai when it said of the opium trade, "that, both from its past history and its present enormous extent, producing suspicion and dislike in the minds of the Chinese, it is a most formidable obstacle to the cause of Christianity."

3. *Its results to India.*—Looking at the amount of revenue derived from the trade by the government of India, it may be called a very profitable traffic. In the parliamentary discussion of 1840, Lord Ellenborough advocated the continuance of the growth of opium in India, because of the great revenue derived from it, amounting then to $7,500,000, which, as he said, was "in effect *a tax on foreigners.*" This has since grown into an average annual revenue of $35,000,000. On the other hand, there can be no doubt that poppy cultivation has wasted the soil of India to a very serious degree. Twenty-five years ago the East India Company affirmed in a statistical paper that "the poppy requires the richest description of land." Its extended production must therefore displace other products. Some of the finest grain-growing lands of Benares, Behar, and other regions are covered with the blighting poppy. A careful estimate, published in the London "Times" of Dec. 9,

1873, showed 100,000 acres of the rich plains of Central India and 550,000 acres in the alluvial valley of the Ganges given up to the poppy—ground which had previously produced sugar, indigo, corn, and other grain. India has been subject at times to great famines, which have carried off thousands of the people, and brought disease and distress upon multitudes. The rich province of Behar has suffered greatly from this cause; and while her people were dying by the thousand from starvation, many thousands of acres of her rich soil were blooming with the deadly poppy. The natives of India were starving that the natives of China might be poisoned through the agency of the Indian government, and for the purpose of increasing the dollars in its coffers. It would be difficult to conceive of any thing more shameful and wicked than such a condition of things as these facts reveal. The traffic which curses China is cursing India as well by the great and increasing waste of its most valuable soil. Besides this, it has proved a positive hinderance to public improvements, which there is high authority for saying "would have been more earnestly attended to but for the easy way of getting revenue by the growth and sale of opium."

4. *Its effect upon general trade.*—As long ago as 1839, Captain Eliot, her Majesty's Superintendent of Trade, wrote to Lord Palmerston:

> After the most deliberate reconsideration of this course of traffic, I declare my own opinion that, in its general effects, *it is intensely mischievous to every branch of trade.*

In 1842 a memorial was presented to Sir Robert Peel, bearing the signatures of 235 merchants and manufacturers of the highest standing, setting forth the obstacles interposed by the opium trade to an increased demand for British goods. They give it as their opinion that "the opium trade, in whatever form, will inevitably undermine the commerce of Great Britain with China." They show that from 1803 to 1839, while the opium trade had grown from 3,000 to 30,000 chests, the products of British industry purchased by the Chinese were $750,000 less in amount than was paid for woolens alone in 1803–8. The Chinese have no antipathy to foreign manufactures. The great difficulty is that opium preoccupies the market. An annual drain of thirty-six millions of dollars for opium must, in the

nature of things, interfere materially with the ability of the Chinese to purchase manufactured goods. The Tau-tai of Shanghai was once asked what would be the best means of increasing British commerce with China. He immediately replied: "Cease to send us so much opium, and we shall be able to take your manufactures." Mr. David M'Laren gives figures to show that China, with her four hundred millions of people, only imports about as much of British manufactures as Egypt or Cuba, and that opium, which formed scarcely one half of the export trade of Great Britain to China in 1813, had grown to be ninety per cent. of the whole in 1858. He then adds:

It is impossible to resist the conclusion to be drawn from these tables. If the Chinese take value for their exports in one form, they cannot at the same time take it in another; and further, as will be seen shortly, the more they take in opium, the more they diminish their productive power and subsequent ability to become profitable customers in any trade.

The Rev. Goodeve Mabbs, with abundant statistics to indorse his assertion, says:

Depend upon it, there is no greater barrier, both politically and economically, to the extension of British trade with China than our British Indian opium trade. The seven or eight millions of revenue which India obtains from the traffic really come out of the till of the British manufacturer and from the resources of the British people.

The London bankers, in a letter to the Chambers of Commerce, say:

English industry is practically shut out from the market which, of all others, seems to offer the greatest possibilities of increase and expansion; and this, not from any unwillingness on the part of the government or people of China to receive our manufactures, but through the calamitous operation of a monopoly which exists for the sake of bringing in revenue to the Indian exchequer. The purchasing power of China seems paralyzed by the opium trade, while the Indian budget rests upon a basis which must give way the moment China is strong enough to assert herself.

Of course, America has as much interest in this aspect of the question as England. China ought to be one of the best fields in the world for many of our manufactures. But this opium blight is upon every thing. It has nearly paralyzed all

honest trade. The United States Consul at Ningpo, who has resided in China for thirty years, says in one of his annual reports to our government:

> Poverty makes bad customers; and so, whatever vices or circumstances tend to place our customers in this condition (as is pre-eminently the case with opium) *injure our business.*

Our legitimate commerce suffers immeasurable damage from this trade in opium, and no class would profit more by the total abolition of the traffic than our own merchants. Relieved of this incubus, trade would soon find its way to legitimate channels. The first development would probably be in largely increased sales of our cotton manufactures, and this would soon be followed by large imports of other useful articles. But up to this time opium, by exhausting to so large an extent the purchasing power of China, has been a powerful obstacle to the expansion of healthful trade.

### III. Chinese Opinion.

This branch of the subject has been necessarily anticipated to some extent; but it is desirable to show how steady and uniform has been the condemnation of the traffic by all classes of the Chinese people. The great Emperor Tau-kwang declared that

> The injury done by the influx of opium and by the increase of those who inhale it is nearly equal to a conflagration, and the waste of property and the hurt done to human beings is every day greater than the preceding.

One of the most remarkable expressions of Chinese opinion is the letter of the Commissioner Lin, who destroyed the opium in Canton harbor, to Queen Victoria. A few extracts will give an idea of its style and of its reasoning:

> But there is a tribe of depraved and barbarous people who, having manufactured opium for smoking, bring it hither for sale, and seduce and lead astray the simple folk, to the destruction of their persons and the draining of their resources. Formerly the smokers thereof were few, but of late from each to other the practice has spread its contagion, and daily do its baneful effects more deeply pervade the central source, its rich, fruitful, and flourishing population. . . . How can it be borne that the living souls that dwell within these seas should be left willfully to take a deadly poison! Hence it is that those who deal in opium, or

who inhale its fumes within this land, are all now to be subjected to severest punishment, and that a perpetual interdict is to be placed on the practice so extensively prevailing. We have reflected that this poisonous article is the clandestine manufacture of artful schemers and depraved people of various tribes under the dominion of your honorable nation. Doubtless you, the honorable Sovereign of that nation, have not commanded the manufacture and sale of it. . . . Though not making use of it one's self, to venture, nevertheless, on the manufacture and sale of it, and with it to seduce the simple folk of this land, is to seek ones' own livelihood by the exposure of others to death, to seek one's own advantage by other men's injury. And such acts are bitterly abhorrent to the nature of man, are utterly opposed to the ways of heaven. . . . We would now, then, concert with your honorable sovereignty means to bring to a perpetual end this opium, so hurtful to mankind: we in this land forbidding the use of it, and you in the nations under your dominion forbidding its manufacture. As regards what has been already made, we would have your honorable nation issue mandates for the collection thereof, that the whole may be cast into the depths of the sea. We would thus prevent the longer existence between these heavens and this earth of any portion of the hurtful thing.

If we turn from this expression of Commissioner Lin in 1839 to the letter of Prince Kung and his colleagues of the Tsung-li Yamen to Sir Rutherford Alcock in 1869, we will find that no change had taken place in thirty years in the opinion and feeling of the highest Chinese officials. They say:

The object of the treaties between our respective countries was to secure perpetual peace, but if effectual steps cannot be taken to remove an accumulating sense of injury from the minds of men, it is to be feared that no policy can obviate sources of future trouble. Day and night the writers are considering the question, with a view to its solution, and the more they reflect upon it the greater does their anxiety become, and, therefore, they cannot avoid addressing his Excellency very earnestly on the subject. That opium is like a deadly poison, that it is most injurious to mankind, and a most serious provocative of ill feeling, is, the writers think, perfectly well known to his Excellency. . . . If it be desired to remove the very root, and to stop the evil at its source, nothing will be effective but a prohibition, to be enforced alike by both parties. Again, the Chinese merchant supplies your country with his goodly tea and silk, conferring thereby a benefit upon her; but the English merchant empoisons China with pestilent opium. Such conduct is unrighteous. Who can justify it? What wonder if officials and people say that *England is willfully working out China's ruin*, and has no real

friendly feeling for her? . . . If his Excellency, the British Minister, cannot, before it is too late, arrange a plan for a joint prohibition, [of the traffic,] then, no matter with what devotedness the writers may plead, they may be unable to cause the people to put aside ill feeling, and so strengthen friendly relations as to place them forever beyond fear of disturbance. Day and night, therefore, the writers give to this matter most earnest thought, and overpowering is the distress which it occasions them.

Wen-seang, in a conversation with Sir Rutherford Alcock, reported by the latter in an official dispatch to the Earl of Clarendon, says:

How irreparable and continuous is the injury which we see inflicted upon the whole empire by the foreign importation of opium! If England would consent to interdict this—cease either to grow it in India, or to allow their ships to bring it to China—there might be some hope of more friendly feelings. No doubt there is a strong feeling entertained by all the *literati* and gentry as to the frightful evils attending the smoking of opium, its thoroughly demoralizing effects, and the utter ruin brought upon all who once give way to the vice. They believe the extension of this pernicious habit is mainly due to the alacrity with which foreigners supply the poison for their own profit, perfectly regardless of the irreparable injury inflicted, and naturally they feel hostile to all concerned in such a traffic.

One of the most recent and most emphatic expressions of high Chinese opinion is to be found in the letter of Li Hung Chang, the leading statesman of China, to the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade. It is dated at Tientsin, May 24, 1881. He says:

Opium is a subject in the discussion of which England and China can never meet on common ground. China views the whole question from a moral stand-point; England, from a fiscal. England would sustain a source of revenue in India, while China contends for the lives and prosperity of her people. The ruling motive with China is to repress opium by heavy taxation everywhere, whereas with England the manifest object is to make opium cheaper, and thus increase and stimulate the demand in China. . . . If it be thought that China countenances the import for the revenue it brings, it should be known that my government will gladly cut off all such revenue in order to stop the import of opium. My Sovereign has never desired his empire to thrive upon the lives or infirmities of his subjects. . . . The present import duty on opium was established, not from choice, but because China submitted to the adverse decision of arms. *The war must be considered as China's standing protest against legalizing such a revenue.*

Space can only be afforded for a single extract to show the opinion of the humbler classes of the Chinese people. The following is from the letter of the Chinese Christians of Hong-Kong to the Anti-Opium Society:

> Opium is a burning evil. The smoker loses his character, injures his business and property, ruins himself and his family, and shortens his life. . . . Opium-smoking is a fruitful source of robbery, theft, and all kinds of villainy. . . . It drains China of its wealth, to the enrichment of foreigners; but this is a small matter compared with the slavery in which it binds individuals and society. . . . The trade in opium is no better than trade in poison, and it differs from murder by the knife only in its slower operation. . . . Ill-gotten gain brings no blessing with it. At present gain is derived from opium by the calamity of China; the longer this goes on, the more intense hatred does it excite, and the more signal will be the retribution. The revolutions of destiny do not fail. You should not deceive yourselves by saying that China can be easily put down. There is a Heaven above us which weighs our doings without the slightest error.

To sum up in a word, Chinese opinion from the beginning has been in unvarying condemnation of the traffic, as bringing misery upon the people, and as being utterly unjustifiable and cruel on the part of Great Britain. Emperors, statesmen, officers, and people have steadily spoken with unanimous voice on this subject. And the worst of it is that their view of the case is plainly and unanswerably right.

## IV. The Relation of the United States to the Trade.

So far as government action is concerned, our general policy has been to have no trouble about any thing with China, to keep on perfectly friendly terms with that country, to let the British and French fight their own battles, and when the war was ended, and treaties were to be made, to come in with the other nations, and secure for our country and our trade as much as was promised to any other country. This has been a very economical, and, on the whole, quite a successful, method of conducting affairs. It is true that the first treaty between the United States and China, in 1844, contained a prohibition of the opium traffic; but this clause was from the very first a dead letter. Almost from the beginning Americans had their share in the profitable but deadly traffic. For many years there was but one American mercantile firm in China

which had not more or less connection with the traffic, namely, that of Messrs. Olyphant & Co., which was always an honorable exception, it being a rule of the house that no opium should be bought or sold by the firm, that none should be transported on any vessel belonging to them, and that it should never be mentioned in their market reports. This stand was taken purely on moral grounds, and was the result of the conscientious conviction of the head of the firm, who was a consistent member of the Presbyterian Church. But, with this exception, American merchants freely participated in the gains of the unholy trade.

But in 1880 our government wished to negotiate a new treaty with China concerning the limitation of Chinese immigration to this country. The clamor for such a treaty was without a decent basis of reason, and was in contravention of our acknowledged principles and our consistent practice for a century. But this is not the place to discuss that question, and it is here introduced only as it is connected with the opium traffic. In the discussions between our commissioners and those of the Chinese government, the latter pointed out that Chinese laborers first went to America because they were greatly desired, and that the new desire that they should stay away was due to the influence of violent men. They, however, agreed to a treaty allowing our government to limit or suspend the immigration of laborers. Now, it is a principle firmly rooted in the Chinese mind that when a concession has been made on one side, there must be a concession on the other side. And when China conceded to us the right to limit immigration, what did she ask in return? Simply that we would help her to get rid of the traffic in opium. This request was made when the "commercial treaty" was under consideration, it having been well understood that the treaty in regard to immigration should be followed by said commercial treaty. Our commissioners, Messrs. Angell, Swift, and Trescot, in their letter to Secretary Evarts, of November 17, 1880, say:

> The Chinese commissioners submitted a proposition which we had, from information received, been expecting, but of which they had so far given no sign. That was the prohibition of trade in opium to citizens of the United States. We knew that the Chinese government was very anxious to introduce such an article in any new treaties which they might make. . . . Since our arrival

here, we had had some opportunity of learning how thoroughly sincere the Chinese government was in its desire to suppress this mischievous trade, and we believed that the government had in this effort the entire sympathy both of the government and people of the United States. We therefore agreed to adopt the article, [on certain conditions which they name.]

The treaty thus agreed to was ratified by the President and the Senate. For a thorough-going and concise specimen of prohibition, Article 2 of that treaty cannot be too highly commended. It is as follows:

ARTICLE 2. The governments of China and of the United States mutually agree and undertake that Chinese subjects shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the ports of the United States; and citizens of the United States shall not be permitted to import opium into any of the open ports of China, to transport it from one open port to any other open port, or to buy or sell opium in any of the open ports of China. This absolute prohibition, which extends to vessels owned by the citizens or subjects of either power, and employed by other persons for the transportation of opium, shall be enforced by appropriate legislation on the part of China and the United States, and the benefits of the favored nation clause in existing treaties shall not be claimed by the citizens or subjects of either power as against the provisions of this article.

This treaty will not have much effect in stopping the opium trade as long as England is free to import as much of the drug as she pleases. But it gives China the moral support of the United States in her efforts against the traffic. Other nations will be asked to follow our example, as Russia has already done, and when many have responded, the weight of their example will be brought to bear upon England. Our country has never made a more honorable or righteous treaty with any foreign power. The "Friend of China," discerning the probable outcome of the treaty, says:

The inevitable issue is plainly discernible. For us Englishmen the alternative is this: Will you now, while you can do so in an honorable, though late, repentance, disentangle yourselves from this universally condemned trade, or will you brave the opinion of the world, and persist in the shameful traffic until it is closed for you by causes operating from without, leaving you bereft of its profits, but retaining the indelible infamy?

The present attitude of the United States toward the traffic is one of intense hostility, prohibiting our citizens from any par-

ticipation in it, and giving China our friendly aid in her efforts to secure its suppression. We suppose this is entirely constitutional, as it has passed the scrutiny of all the keen lawyers in the United States Senate, and received their votes. And if it be constitutional to prohibit our citizens in China from dealing in opium where every body else is at liberty to do it, ought it not to be constitutional for each State to debar its citizens from dealing in intoxicating liquor within its bounds? Ought it not to be as constitutional to protect American citizens as it is to protect Chinese subjects from a great curse? But this is a digression.

### V. Efforts for the Suppression of the Traffic.

Individuals have not been lacking during the entire history of the traffic to protest against it and demand its suppression. Various religious bodies have also at times borne their testimony against it—the Society of Friends having in this, as in most other matters of public morals, an honorable record. In 1876 the Anglo-Oriental Society for the Suppression of the Opium Trade was organized. With the Earl of Shaftesbury as President, and the Bishops of Durham, Ripon, Salisbury, Liverpool, and Mid-China as Vice-Presidents, and the Rev. F. S. Turner as Secretary, and embracing in its membership many of the leading ministers and laymen of Great Britain, it has already greatly influenced the public opinion of the United Kingdom against the traffic. It issues monthly the "Friend of China," which gives the latest statistics, brings out in strong light the varied iniquities of the trade, and points out the appropriate action to be taken. It provides for holding meetings at various places, to awaken the people to the subject. It is active in preparing memorials to Parliament, and in agitating the subject in all suitable ways. It will doubtless be the leader of the Anti-Opium hosts, until victory is secured. There is a growing disposition among the religious assemblies to speak out upon the subject. The Convocation of York, in April, 1881, resolved:

> That in the opinion of this House, the opium trade as now carried on between India and China is opposed alike to Christian and national morality, is instrumental in effecting the physical and moral degradation of multitudes of Chinese, and is a hinderance both to legitimate commerce and to the spread of Christianity.

The Methodist Ecumenical Conference, held in London in September, 1881, resolved:

That the growth of the manufacture of opium in India and its export to China, under the direct sanction of the British imperial government, and as virtually a government monopoly, are serious obstacles to the spread of Christianity in China, and injurious to the credit and influence of England throughout the Eastern world. And we most respectfully but earnestly call upon the government to deliver this country from all further responsibility arising from such an iniquitous traffic.

The Friends, the Wesleyans, the New Connection Methodists, the Congregationalists, the Baptists, the English Presbyterians, the Established Church, and the Free Church of Scotland have all given their utterances against the traffic.

A small but noble band in the House of Commons bring forward every year resolutions looking to the termination of the traffic. No one undertakes to answer them on moral grounds. With England it is, as Li Hung Chang says, "a fiscal question," and most English statesmen decline as yet to view it from a moral stand-point.

## VI. What Ought to be Done?

1. *By China.*—Being perfectly right in her view of the matter, and having the conscience of the world on her side, she ought to go steadily forward in her determination to suppress the trade. Every new treaty with a foreign nation ought to contain the same prohibition of opium that is found in her last treaty with the United States. She ought to insist upon England's giving up the legalization of the traffic. In the meantime, after giving due notice of her intentions, she ought to put on the drug a duty so high as to amount practically to prohibition. And in order to show her sincerity in the matter, she ought sternly to prohibit the growth of the poppy in her dominions, and take strict measures to enforce her edicts to that end.

2. *By Great Britain.*—The duty of Great Britain is very tersely stated in the resolutions of the great meeting called by the Lord Mayor of London, at the Mansion House, October 21, 1881, on which occasion the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Manning, and Bishop Simpson appeared on the same platform. It was there resolved:

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That in the opinion of this meeting it is the duty of this country, not only to put an end to the opium trade as now conducted, but to withdraw all encouragement from the growth of the poppy in India, except for strictly medicinal purposes, and to support the Chinese government in its efforts to suppress the traffic.

That in the opinion of this meeting it will be the duty of this country to give such aid to the government of India as may be found reasonable, in order to lessen the inconvenience resulting to its finances from the adoption of the policy advocated in the previous resolution.

The Archbishop of Canterbury closed a strong speech at that meeting with these words:

I observed the other day that one of the articles of the treaty with China contained this clause: "That the Chinese were no longer to call us barbarians"—a most important clause. But what is more important than our not being called barbarians is that we should not act in any respect as barbarians, and forget that it is the duty of the civilized people to introduce among those whom we regard as less civilized than ourselves, not the vices, but the virtues of civilization, and so to help them in the cause of good government, which we trust, by God's blessing, the Chinese empire may gradually attain to.

Unquestionably, the right thing for the British government to do is to do right. The plea of necessity for India's finances is unworthy of serious attention. It can never be necessary to do a great wrong to one country in order to carry on the government of another. A nation that once voted $100,000,000 to free itself from the guilt and curse of slavery cannot be long staggered by the difficulty of raising sufficient revenue to carry on the government of India, when once its conscience is aroused to the duty of the hour.

3. *By all Christian and humane people.*—The duty of all who love their fellow-men is to give the aid of their earnest efforts to relieve the Chinese people of this great curse. All the great representative religious bodies should take strong action on the subject. As we have seen, this is being done to a large extent by the Churches of Great Britain. The leading Churches of America, all of which have large and flourishing missions in China, and all of whose missionaries meet this traffic as a great obstacle to the progress of the Gospel, ought to join in respectful remonstrances to the British government against the continuance of the traffic. Our General Confer-

ence might well take the initiative in the matter, and the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, the General Synod of the Reformed Church, the Baptist Missionary Union, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, might all appropriately join in an earnest protest against the trade. Great Britain would ere long be obliged to listen to the universal protest of Christendom, and would soon find means either to decrease the expenses of the Indian government or to provide for them in some other way than by carrying ruin and death into countless thousands of Chinese homes. In the words of the Rev. S. Whitehead, formerly of the Wesleyan Mission at Canton:

> They tell us that the tide of the Solway Firth sometimes, when it comes up, is for a long time not observed, that there is no indication of its rise, that the waters seem sullen as if they would not move, but at last the tide comes up in its force and rushes forward with a speed that outpaces the fastest horseman; and often in the history of this country has it been so with the force, the great tide of public opinion; and I do hold that if we can keep at our work, by and by, that tide slowly rising, gaining strength, at present unobserved, but spreading from heart to heart, from mind to mind, and from home to home, will stir this nation, and rush into the British Houses of Parliament, and then will there come the destruction of this abominable traffic.

And let all the people say Amen!

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## Art. III.—THE REGENERATION AND GLORIFICATION OF THE BODY.

It has been generally perceived by the Christian Church that there is such a thing as regeneration of the soul, but it has not been so commonly noticed that there is also a regeneration of the body. It is the purpose of this paper to establish the proposition that at the time of the new birth of the soul a physical change, corresponding with the spiritual transformation, begins, which progresses with differing degrees of rapidity in different cases, and which finally culminates in the resurrection of the spiritual body which descended at death into the grave. In this physical regeneration the Spirit of God first "quickens" "our mortal body." After the "quickening" there is

carried forward a long process which may be compared to the gestation of the unborn child in the womb of its mother, and which is, in fact, the gestation of the spiritual body. In the womb of this time-world and within the matrix of this mortal there is preparation going on for some higher organization, as God's formative processes of development and discipline are mysteriously progressing during the whole of this earthly life. Then the body rests awhile in the grave, a stage which, since we are fallen, is doubtless an important part of our physical preparation for a spiritual existence, and which, we may conjecture, is necessary to rid us of our grosser parts. For, as we sing,

> "Corruption, earth, and worms
> Shall but refine this flesh;
> Till our triumphant spirit comes
> To put it on afresh."

At last the birth-hour of the resurrection arrives. The Spirit, who raised up Christ from the dead, and who quickened our physical organization at the hour of the new birth of the soul from above, now raises up the perfected spiritual body. To this whole process, including the final union and glorification with the soul, we may, for convenience' sake, apply the term, the regeneration and glorification of the body.

The process of regeneration, using that word in its widest sense, therefore includes in its operation both the material and the immaterial man. Its work is that of restoring us from the effects of sin upon our twofold nature. Its intention is to make things with us as though Adam had not fallen, as far as this can be done, and thus to aid us onward from our lost to our future and heavenly paradise. This design, proposing as it does to undo as much as possible the effects of sin, must necessarily include regeneration of the body. That this process is begun at least in the moment of the new birth from above, if not, indeed, when the repenting soul first seeks after God, we believe to be susceptible of abundant proof.

That there is a regeneration of the physical nature, commencing with the moment of spiritual change, is established by the teachings of physiology. It is axiomatic among physical scientists that mental changes are always accompanied by alterations of organic structure, either as cause or effect. Some

late words of Mr. Frederick Harrison, which are referred to with approbation by Professor Huxley,* may serve to represent the conclusions of science upon this close interaction of spirit and matter:

> Man is one, however compound. Fire his conscience, and he blushes. Check his circulation, and he thinks wildly, or thinks not at all. Impair his secretions, and moral sense is dulled, discolored, or depraved; his aspirations flag; his hope, love, faith, reel. Impair them still more, and he becomes a brute. A cup of drink degrades his moral nature below that of a swine. Again, a violent emotion of pity or horror makes him vomit. A lancet will restore him from delirium to clear thought. Excess of thought will waste his sinews; excess of muscular action will deaden thought. An emotion will double the strength of his muscles; and at last the prick of a needle or a grain of mineral will, in an instant, lay to rest forever his body and its unity, and all the spontaneous activities of intelligence, feeling, and action with which that compound organism was charged. These are the obvious and ancient observations about the human organism. But modern philosophy and science have carried these hints into complete explanations. By a vast accumulation of proof positive, thought at last has established a distinct correspondence between every process of thought or of feeling, and some corporeal phenomenon.

Now, in view of these facts, if it be admitted that the soul is but a function of the body, as materialism asserts, then the regeneration of the soul would indicate a previous physical change. If, on the contrary, the body is but the servant and instrument of the soul, as we believe, then such a spiritual crisis as the new birth would be at once accompanied by a corresponding bodily alteration. Thus, upon any hypothesis of the relation between soul and body which we may adopt, a metamorphosis in the one would of necessity imply a like occurrence in the other.

This teaching of science is confirmed, in the second place, by common observation. In the majority of instances, perhaps, regeneration manifests itself at once by a variety of physical signs, and especially is this true when it is experienced in the marked, "Methodist," way. Sometimes the change is so great, notably in adults, that it is manifest in gait, in tone of voice, or even in the glance of the eye. Of course these are distinguished instances; but what is true of them is, in the very

* "A Modern Symposium," p. 74.

nature of things, true of all in a measure, since natural and spiritual laws are not variable in their operation. Still more decided is the physical change, when evil appetites are eradicated in a moment. A bodily re-adjustment to better habits and a purer life seems to occur. The physical basis of the artificial or perverted appetite appears to be transformed and the evil desire of which it was the cause vanishes. Drunkards feel the appetite for liquor removed, and users of tobacco lose their cravings for the narcotic. Such cases are numerous and well attested. Once, the confession of such a deliverance from sinful appetites would have subjected him who made it to the charge of enthusiasm, but now the experience is so common and so well proven as scarcely to excite remark.* It is found that the doctrine of a physical change commencing, and more or less present, in every case of regeneration, accounts rationally for these phenomena; and wherever they occur an explanation upon physical grounds is thus provided in advance.

Finally, this doctrine of a physical change accompanying spiritual regeneration is taught in the Scriptures. One of the proof texts is Romans viii, 11: "But if the Spirit of him that raised up Christ from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." We are aware that this passage is often popularly interpreted as relating exclusively to the final resurrection of the body, but a study of the context will show that if any allusion to this resurrection is intended at all it is only secondary. The primary reference is to that physical change which begins in the body at regeneration, and which mysteriously culminates in the resurrection. Calvin, who follows the comment of Augustine in this matter, says of this passage: "The discourse is not concerning the final resurrection, which occurs in a moment, but concerning the continual operation of the Spirit, who, gradually putting to death the remains of the flesh, begins a celestial life in us.†" Alford adopts Calvin's idea, with the caution that "perhaps 'not *alone* concerning the final resurrection' would have been more correct, for it certainly is one thing spoken of." And with this

* "Wonders of Grace," W. H. Boole; Dr. Cullis's "Reports;" "Nature and the Supernatural," Bushnell, chap. xiv; etc., etc.

† "Commentary," in loco.

agree substantially Bengel, Tholuck, Meyer, Stuart, Lange, Van Doren, and, indeed, all the commentators we have noticed on the passage.

Paul has not once, in the preceding verses of the paragraph, referred to the final resurrection, and any exclusive allusion to it is foreign to the scope of his writing, which seems to relate wholly to the change which takes place in regeneration. He tells us (1) what is done for the soul, and (2) what is done for the body. (1) The teaching of the whole epistle previously is that the soul of man, as yet spiritually lifeless, is now "quickened." (2) Then the specific declaration is made that the mortal body is "quickened." The plain implication is, therefore, that the work is simultaneous in both; and no other view would have occurred had it not come to be carelessly assumed, contrary to the spirit of the whole passage and to the teaching of all the scholars, that the "quickening" of the "mortal body" here referred to was to take place in the final resurrection. Moreover, if Paul had intended to speak exclusively of the final resurrection he would have used the same fitting word—*ἐγείρας*—which he did in the same verse in speaking of the Saviour's resurrection, instead of choosing a different one—*ζωοποιήσει*—which simply means "to make alive," either physically or spiritually, and which does not necessarily refer to a future any more than it does to an earthly life. The idea of the passage is, that the body, hitherto "dead in trespasses and sins," is now, in regeneration, "made alive" with the new life, which is to eventuate in the resurrection.

Another scriptural proof of our position is found in many of the terms which Paul applies to the unregenerate state. Why does he say, "They that are *in the flesh* cannot please God?" Why does he speak of the "*body of sin*" and the "*old man?*" Why is sin always, in his mode of speaking, made cognate with the "*carnal*" and the "*fleshly?*" Why does he declare "the *carnal mind* is enmity against God," "the *flesh* lusteth against the Spirit," and the like? Why, in speaking of himself in his unregenerate state, does he say, "In my *flesh* dwelleth no good thing?" Why does he speak of the "*lust of the flesh?*" Such examples of his usage might be multiplied indefinitely.

Certainly all this uniformity of allusion to the "body of sin" is neither an arbitrary thing nor an accidental collocation of words, for Paul was not a person to use language thus, even leaving out of view, if we could, his inspiration. And these words must be something more than mere pretty fancies or barren figures of speech. Indeed, they could not be valid figures of speech unless they had some deeper likeness to reality than that of mere sound or of superficial suggestion. They must rest for their significance upon some profound truth, and must derive their only value as vehicles of thought from the accuracy with which they express a great moral fact. A true figure of speech must, so to speak, contain the fact of which it is a symbol. And the truth upon which these expressions rest, the fact which they are intended to teach, is that the unchanged body is one of the chief sources of sin. This is so terribly true that, in the apostle's mode of thought, sin is always associated, if, indeed, it is not identified, with the presence of an unregenerate flesh. There is verily a tragic depth of meaning in Paul's lament for himself in his unrenewed state when he exclaims, "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" This expression is not to be explained as a mere trope for a desired spiritual change, which has been suggested to his lively imagination by the practice of chaining a living prisoner to a corpse, but it is a cry for an actual physical deliverance from an unregenerate body—a deliverance which shall also accomplish the loosing of his spiritual nature from its loathed contact with corruption. We must interpret the passage thus to bring it into accord with the whole Pauline mode of thought. That deliverance he begins to receive in regeneration; and now, as a consequence, he cries out again with sharp joy, "I thank God through our Lord Jesus Christ!" And this joyous shout in the Romans has its antiphonal note in that jubilant pæan of the Corinthian epistle, which celebrates the final triumph of the redeemed body over sin and the grave in the final resurrection: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

His joy for himself upon the renewal of his whole nature in righteousness was such as he afterward felt for the Colossians, who had been saved, as he says, in "putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ." Col. ii, 11.

The mediæval schoolmen and Church fathers had caught a glimpse of Paul's idea that the unchanged body was the seat of sin; and therefrom, in part, they derived that doctrine of the depravity of matter which led to all the dreary excesses of asceticism. They made a mistake, however, when they began to mortify the flesh in order to attain deliverance from sin, for they began at the wrong end of the work. They should first have sought the kingdom of God and his righteousness in the regeneration of the soul, and then would all things pertaining to a physical renewal have been added unto them in due time, and physical mortifications have lost most of their necessity.

Their bodies would still have had to be kept under, as was Paul's, because not yet completely regenerate; and yet the revolt of the carnal man against the Spirit would have been in process of suppression.

The same idea of a physical along with a spiritual change is necessarily implied, if, indeed, it is not directly taught, in Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians, (v, 16, 17:) "Wherefore henceforth know we no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more. Therefore, if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things have passed away; behold, all things are become new." The apostle is here alluding to what took place at his regeneration. Previously he had known both men and Christ from the old fleshly, sinful stand-point. Now, since he is born again, he knows both from a new, holy, spiritual stand-point. It comes to this at last, understand the phrase "after the flesh" any way we may. He continues that if any man has passed from the former to the later state it has been by a new creation. But this is necessarily both spiritual and physical. (1) Because a man is not properly a "new creature," that is, a new creation, until all parts of his complex nature, body as well as soul, are included in some degree in the recreative act. (2) Because, in order to pass from the old carnality to the new spiritual life, the physical basis of that carnality, which is the "flesh," must be transformed.

Our scriptural proof of this doctrine may be fitly concluded by a single quotation from the Epistle to the Colossians, which appears to us to contain all that we have endeavored to set

forth, (ii, 11–13:) "Ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ: . . . And you, being dead in your sins, and the uncircumcision of your flesh, hath he quickened together with him, having forgiven you all trespasses." These Colossians were now regenerate persons when these statements were made concerning them, for they were "circumcised," and they had been "dead," but now they were "quickened." This deadness had not pertained solely to their spiritual nature, because it is said that, being already "dead in their sins," they were additionally dead "in the uncircumcision of their flesh." It would be mere tautology for Paul to use this second specification, unless it added a second idea; and what that idea was we have already discovered from his whole teaching. This "quickening" was not a future resurrection, for "you *hath* he quickened;" and it was accomplished at the same time they had received "forgiveness of all trespasses." With this we rest the argument and come to some practical thoughts.

The regeneration of the body is a matter of interest and importance to the sinner. He finds his physical nature one of the chief obstacles to his becoming a follower of Christ. The sinner is appalled by the view of his own lusts and evil appetites, and deterred thereby from entering upon the better life to which he feels himself called. But there is abundant provision made to meet his case. Perhaps these may be taken away in the beginnings of regeneration, or, perhaps, in his entire sanctification. We incline to the belief that they will be removed as soon as their removal is clearly apprehended as having been made possible to faith, and when that faith is exercised. While John B. Gough declares that the drunkard must always feel and struggle against evil appetite until he dies, we cannot concur; at least this seems not the invariable rule. If God sees best, he will doubtless confer an extraordinary charismatic faith,* which will effect its destruction. In other cases his grace will be sufficient. In others still the appetite will

* 1 Cor. xii, 9; "Quarterly Review," 1871, p. 443, note by D. D. Whedon; "The Charism of Faith," "Western Christian Advocate," June 30, 1881, J. C. Jackson; "The Gift of Faith and the Grace of Faith," "Christian Standard," March 31, 1883, Daniel Steele.

surely be greatly weakened. But we feel inclined to insist that, as a rule, there is gracious divine provision made for its removal, and that this may be savingly grasped and held. Of course we will still be sick, and still die, for all human experience shows that this part of the penalty of sin is not yet subject to removal. The provision for its destruction is not yet perfectly operative, nor will it be until the resurrection of the last day, which is the time appointed for disease and death to be entirely swallowed up in life. But for the removal of fleshly lusts and evil appetites the complete remedy is now perfectly available, and that remedy is *the precious blood of the Lord Jesus Christ.* Let the transgressor but look to it in faith, and we believe that as the bodies of the serpent-bitten Israelites were healed when they looked upon the uplifted image in the wilderness, so will the body of the sinner be cured of those evil appetites which are the result of his own misdeeds, or which, perhaps, have become his by inheritance.

There is also in this matter that which is of importance to Christians. Supposing that their bodies have been quickened, and that unholy lusts have been eradicated or repressed, then their members are to be held inviolably sacred to God, being yielded servants to righteousness. A Christian's soul is already, by anticipation, a celestial spirit, a citizen of heaven, for into that goodly fellowship it was introduced by the consecrating baptism of the Holy Ghost. His body is already, by anticipation, a spiritual body, one of the bodies of heaven, for into the regenerated nature which will compose the new heavens and the new earth it has been introduced by the consecrating baptism of water. Even now, with the whole creation, it groaningly awaits the full manifestation of the sons of God and the regeneration of all things. God's seal is upon the Christian's body, and it is to be held sacred. Let him beware of evil; although saved, he is not beyond temptation and falling, for even though his bodily and spiritual state were by a miracle of divine recreative energy made equal in perfection to that of unfallen Adam, he would not be beyond the possibility of lapse. By gratifying an innocent appetite with an unlawful object, our first parent fell into transgression, and in the same way have since fallen thousands once regenerate.

Finally, from this subject we gain some dim idea of part of

our perfection in heaven. To repeat some of the thoughts with which we began, we have seen that, in conversion, God "quickens" "our mortal bodies." After the quickening a long process ensues, which may be compared to gestation. Then our physical nature passes through the grave, doubtless a necessary stage in the preparation of the spiritual body. Somewhere and somehow, by this time, the physical nature has been freed from its carnality, inherited or acquired, so that now the purified physical nature is ready to be raised up. For, as Christlieb says: * "We must not forget that it is not earthly matter, *per se*, which is incapable of being developed into a spiritual state of existence, but only the defilement that cleaves to it in our fallen condition that prevents this. *The terrestrial body, as such, is destined to be spiritualized;* but if this is its destiny it must also possess the *capability*. This shows us at the same time the reason why the sinless body of Christ could be immediately transmuted. Its purity was the possibility of its transformation." Now, our own bodily purification being accomplished by the processes of grace and the grave, the birth-hour of the resurrection comes. The Spirit who raised up Christ, and who quickened aforetime our mortal bodies, now raises us up. The soul, already prepared in the intermediate state, next comes and takes possession of the prepared and perfect organ of its future activities. Then for the first time is realized the ancient philosophic dream of a sound mind in a sound body, though in a higher sense than was ever imagined. Then all the diseases and weaknesses that were the result of either our natural limitations or of the actual sins of the flesh are gone, because our physical man is wholly regenerated. The soul perfectly helps the body, and the body the soul, the old antagonism between the two having utterly vanished. This is part of the glorification of man in heaven, to which all Christians are now upon the way. Immortality already stirs within their ransomed spirits, and in their very bodies they feel the growing powers of the world to come.

* "Modern Doubt and Christian Belief," p. 476.

## Art. IV.—WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

*Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey.* By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Third and Revised Edition. London: John Murray. 1869. 8vo, pp. 704.

The fame of Westminster Abbey is world-wide. It stands, the index of Anglo-Saxon greatness, the monument of England's unquestioned stability. It is the historian of eight long centuries of British progress. It is a vast pile of Gothic architecture worth going many miles to see, ornamented without and within with all that the hand of skillful artisan and the purse of royalty itself could supply. It is earth's richest mausoleum, where scores, especially of those who were kings in the world of Mind, whose fame is more secure with every passing year, have been laid to rest. It has witnessed royal marriages, coronations, and burials, and is thus peculiarly endeared to Britain's sons. It challenges the admiration of hosts of others as well, visitors from afar, who have traversed again and again its long halls and walked reverently through its royal chapels.

> The Abbey of Westminster hath been always held the greatest sanctuary and randevouze of devotion of the whole island; whereunto the situation of the very place seems to contribute much and to strike a holy kind of reverence and sweetness of melting piety in the hearts of the beholders.*

The famous church has been eagerly sought out by visitors from every clime. Already in the reign of Elizabeth distinguished foreigners were taken in gondolas "to the beautiful and large royal church called Westminster." It is at least possible (the choice lies between Westminster, St. Paul's, or King's College, Cambridge) that it was in Westminster the youthful Milton

> "Let his dere feet never fail
> To walk the studious cloister pale,
> And love the high embowered roof
> With antick pillars massy proof,
> And storied windows richly dight
> Casting a dim, religious light."

Burke "visited the Abbey soon after his arrival in town," and the moment he entered he felt a kind of awe pervade his mind which he could not describe; "the very silence seemed

* Howell's "Perlustration of London," p. 346. 1657.

sacred." Horace Walpole loved Westminster Abbey "much more than levees and circles." Washington Irving was a close observer of its wonderful attractiveness.

The carefully prepared volume before us, dedicated to her Majesty Queen Victoria, "A humble record of the royal and national sanctuary which has for centuries enshrined the varied memories of her august ancestors, and the manifold glories of her free and famous kingdom, and which witnessed the solemn consecration of her own auspicious reign to all high and holy purposes," is doubly interesting on account of the large-heartedness of its illustrious author, who, so short a time ago, was laid to rest within the quiet walls of the Abbey he loved and served so well. We stood but yesterday by this newest grave of all, covered with wreaths of immortelles, the gifts of loving hearts, and thanked God again for the beautiful life of the great Dean Stanley. Were there no other, the volume before us would be a worthy monument of his highly cultured mind and his noble heart.

On the occasion of the eight hundredth anniversary of the dedication of the Abbey, in December, 1865, the friends of Dean Stanley, especially his associates at Westminster, expressed the desire that he would illustrate its history by Memorials similar to those he had previously published in connection with Canterbury Cathedral. The desire was complied with, and the result is the volume whose title-page we have quoted, and which must possess a lasting interest, not only to the historian and the ecclesiastical scholar, but to the archæological student and to the great world of English people every-where. Much had already been written on the Abbey, but none of the writers, it is safe to say, had enjoyed such rare facilities as did Dean Stanley for consulting original sources of information such as the Archives preserved in the Abbey, reaching back to the charters of the Saxon kings, the Chapter Books, extending from 1542 to the present, the Burial Registers, from 1606 to the present, and various other important MSS. The rare opportunity was appreciated and well improved.

As will be understood at once by those most familiar with the history of Westminster Abbey, the compiling such Memorials was no easy task; the very multitude of historical events with which the famous edifice has been connected in-

creased the difficulty; but out of the diversified materials before him with manifest painstaking our author educed a volume which must long remain an unquestioned authority, and commend itself to all who would know the Abbey. The opening chapter treats of the Foundation of the Abbey; the second describes the Coronations, from that of William the Conqueror, December 25, 1066, to that of Queen Victoria, June 28, 1838; the third tells of the Royal Tombs; the fourth describes the Monuments; the fifth the Abbey before the Reformation, (the Monastery, Cloisters, Treasury, Chapter House, Infirmary, etc.;) the sixth chapter gives a history of the Abbey since the Reformation. There are also interesting appendixes, addenda, and a chronological table of events. The pages are filled with helpful references which point the way to additional information.

In the interests of those who have not been privileged to visit London a few words of commonplace description may be admissible. Westminster Abbey stands in the western part of London within two hundred yards of the Houses of Parliament on the banks of the heavily burdened Thames, near Westminster Bridge. We are told that

> the devout king [Edward the Confessor] destined to God that place both for that it was near unto the famous and wealthy city of London, and also had a pleasant situation amongst fruitful fields lying round about it with the principal river running hard by, bringing in from all parts of the world great variety of wares and merchandise of all sorts to the city adjoining; but chiefly for the love of the chief apostle, whom he reverenced with a special and singular affection.*

The "fruitful fields" have long since given place to blocks of buildings and crowded streets, and the quietude which once so distinguished the place as a worthy site for church and monastery has disappeared; the cab, omnibus, and street-car rattle over the ground where formerly abbots and monks reverently paced, while the rush and roar of the world's great metropoli are heard on every side.

The Abbey church is cruciform. The length of the nave is 166 feet, the breadth 38, the height 101 feet; the breadth of the aisles is 16, the extreme breadth of nave and aisles, 71 feet; the length of the choir is 155, the breadth 38, the height 101

* Harleian MSS., p. 980.

feet; the length of transepts and choir is 203, the breadth of transepts and aisles, 84 feet. The extreme length of the Abbey, including Henry VII.'s chapel, is 530 feet; the height of the western towers is 225, of the north front, 166 feet. As it originally stood, the edifice was somewhat smaller; chapel after chapel has been added;* the two imposing towers at the western entrance are the work of Sir Christopher Wren, no mean monument of his great genius; and thus the building has grown to its present proportions. Its architectural beauty is best comprehended by surveying it from the north-west; the effect upon the mind of the spectator is not soon effaced, is never forgotten. One of the most gifted of the many brilliant writers who sleep here has well described "with a feeling beyond his age" the effect of the great cathedral on the awe-struck beholder:

> "All is hushed and still as death. 'Tis dreadful!
> How reverend is the face of this tall pile,
> Whose ancient pillars rear their marble heads
> To bear aloft its arched and ponderous roof,
> By its own weight made steadfast and immovable,
> Looking tranquillity! It strikes an awe
> And terror on my aching sight; the tombs
> And monumental caves of death look cold,
> And shoot a chillness to my trembling heart."

The site of the Abbey was formerly an island, (or peninsula,) and derived its name from its thickets of thorn—Thorn Ey, (or Dorney,) the Isle of Thorns—

which formed in their jungle a refuge for the wild ox or huge red deer with towering antlers, that strayed into it from the neighboring hills. This spot, thus intrenched, marsh within marsh and forest within forest, was, indeed, *locus terribilis*, "the terrible place," as it was called in the first notices of its existence; yet even thus early it presented several points of attraction to the founder of whatever was the original building which was to redeem it from the wilderness. It had the advantages of a Thebaid, as contrasted with the stir and tumult of the neighboring fortress of London.

The river flowing past swarmed with fish, the soil was salubrious, springs of pure water bubbled up in the center of the thickets.

* There are nine chapels: St. Benedict's, St. Edmund's, St. Nicolas's, Henry VII.'s, St. Paul's, Edward the Confessor's, St. Erasmus's, St. John the Baptist's, and Abbot Islip's chapel.

What was the first settlement in those thorny shades, amid those watery wastes, beside that bubbling spring, it is impossible to decipher. The monastic traditions maintained that the earliest building had been a temple of Apollo, shaken down by an earthquake in the year A. D. 154. But this is probably no more than the attempt to outshine the rival Cathedral of St. Paul's by endeavoring to counterbalance the dubious claims of the temple of Diana by a still more dubious assertion of the claims of the temple of her brother the sun-god.

Our author passes by the claims of King Lucius, who, it was said, converted the two London temples into churches; and also those of Sebert, (A. D. 616,) whose grave is still shown outside the Abbey. There is conclusive evidence that the Abbey was founded by Edward the Confessor, "the monument not merely of the personal piety, but of the personal character and circumstances of its founder." This king, who occupied so prominent a place in the history of England, was the last of the Saxons and the first of the Normans.

The idea of a regal Abbey on a hitherto unexampled scale may have been suggested or strengthened by the accounts brought back to him of Reims, where his envoys had been present at the consecration of the Abbey of St. Remy, hard by the cathedral in which the French kings were crowned. But the prevailing motive was of a more peculiar kind, belonging to times long since passed away. In that age, as still among some classes in Roman Catholic countries, religious sentiment took the form of special devotion to this or that particular saint. Among Edward's favorites St. Peter was chief. On his protection while in Normandy, while casting about for help, the exiled prince had thrown himself, and vowed that if he returned in safety he would make a pilgrimage to the apostle's grave at Rome.

When he came to the throne he announced to his Great Council his purpose of fulfilling his vow, but neither nobles nor people would listen to the proposal. The king at last gave way, a deputation was sent to the Pope, who released the royal suppliant from his vow on condition that he should found or restore a monastery of St. Peter, (the full title of Westminster Abbey is "The Collegiate Church or Abbey of St. Peter,") of which the king should be the especial patron.

The Abbey was fifteen years or more in building. The king spent upon it one tenth of the property of the kingdom.

It was to be a marvel of its kind. Its fame as a new style of composition lingered in the minds of men for generations. It

was the first cruciform church in England, from which all the rest of like shape were copied—an expression of the increasing hold which the idea of the crucifixion in the tenth century had laid on the imagination of Europe. Its massive roof and pillars formed a contrast with the rude wooden rafters and beams of the common Saxon churches. Its very size, occupying as it did almost the whole area of the present building, was in itself portentous. The deep foundations, of large square blocks of gray stone, were duly laid. The east end was rounded into an apse. A tower rose in the center, crowned by a cupola of wood. At the western end were erected two smaller towers with five large bells. The hard, strong stones were richly sculptured. The windows were filled with stained glass. The roof was covered with lead.—Pp. 26, 27.

At last the day of dedication arrived. "At midwinter," says the Saxon chronicle, "King Edward came to Westminster and had the minster there consecrated which he had himself built to the honor of God and St. Peter and all God's saints." The dedication occurred December 28, 1065, and a few days later, January 5, 1066, the Confessor died.

The first event in the Abbey of which there is any certain record, after the burial of the Confessor, was the coronation of William the Conqueror. No other coronation rite in Europe reaches back to so early a period as that of the sovereigns of Britain. According to tradition Arthur was crowned at Stonehenge. Of the Saxon kings, seven, from Edward the Elder to Etheldred, (A. D. 900–971) were crowned on the king's stone (still to be seen in the market-place of Kingston on Thames) by the first ford of the Thames. The Danish Hardicanute was believed to have been crowned at Oxford. William's selection of the newly dedicated church for the most important act of his life sprang directly from regard to the Confessor's memory. To be crowned beside the grave of the last Saxon king was the direct fulfillment of the whole plan of the Conqueror. The coronation occurred on Christmas day, A. D. 1066. What with the Saxon populace of London within the Abbey and the suspicious Norman soldiers without, the whole scene was marked by calamitous confusion, and the ceremony was hurried on and abruptly ended.

From this time forward the ceremony of the coronation has been inalienably attached to the Abbey. Its connection with the grave of the Confessor was long preserved even in its

minutest forms. The form of the oath, retained until the time of James II., was to observe "the laws of the glorious Confessor."

The following is a list of subsequent coronations: William Rufus, September 26, 1087; Henry I., August 5, 1100; Stephen, December 26, 1135; Henry II., December 19, 1154; Richard I., September 3, 1189; John, May 27, 1199; Henry III., October 28, 1216; Edward I., August 19, 1274; Edward II., February 25, 1308; Edward III., February 1, 1327; Richard II., July 16, 1377; Henry IV., October 13, 1399; Henry V., April 9, 1413; Henry VI., November 6, 1429; Edward IV., June 29, 1466; (Edward V., uncrowned;) Richard III., July 6, 1483; Henry VII., October 30, 1485; Henry VIII., June 24, 1509; Edward VI., February 20, 1546; Queen Mary, October 1, 1553; Queen Elizabeth, January 15, 1559; James I., July 25, 1603; Charles I., February 2, 1625;* Charles II., April 23, 1661; James II., April 23, 1685; William and Mary, April 11, 1689; Queen Anne, April 23, 1702; George I., October 20, 1714; George II., October 11, 1727; George III., September 22, 1761; George IV., July 19, 1821; William IV., September 8, 1831; Queen Victoria, June 28, 1838.

The last coronation doubtless still lives in the recollection of all who witnessed it. They will long remember the early summer morning, when, at break of day, the streets were crowded, and the vast city awake—the first sight of the Abbey, crowded with the mass of gorgeous spectators, themselves a pageant—the electric shock through the whole mass when the first gun announced that the Queen was on her way—and the thrill of expectation with which the iron rails seemed to tremble in the hands of the spectators, as the long procession closed with the entrance of the small figure, marked out from all beside by the regal train and attendants, floating like a crimson and silvery cloud behind her. At the moment when she first came within the full view of the Abbey, and paused, as if for breath, with clasped hands—as she moved on to her place by the altar—as in the deep silence of the vast multitude the tremulous voice of Archbishop Howley could be faintly heard, even to the remotest corners of the choir, asking for the recognition—as she sat immovable on the throne, when the crown touched her head, amid shout and trumpet and the roar of cannon—there must have been many who felt a hope that the loyalty which had

* Oliver Cromwell was enthroned as Lord Protector, not in the Abbey, but in the adjacent hall, June 26, 1657, the famous chair of Scotland being taken out of the Abbey for the purpose.

waxed cold in the preceding reigns would once more revive, in a more serious form than it had, perhaps, ever worn before. Other solemnities they may have seen more beautiful, or more strange, or more touching, but none at once so gorgeous and so impressive, in recollections, in actual sight, and in promise of what was to be.—Pp. 110, 111.

With this fairy vision ends for us the series of the most continuous succession of events that the Abbey has witnessed. None such belongs to any other building in the world. The coronation of the kings of France at Reims, and of the popes in the Basilica of the Vatican, most nearly approach it. But Reims is now deserted, and the present church of St. Peter is by five centuries more modern than the Abbey. The Westminster coronations are thus the outward expression of the grandeur of the English monarchy. They serve to mark the various turns in the winding road along which it has passed to its present form. They reflect the various proportions in which its elective and its hereditary character have counterbalanced each other. They contain, on the one hand, in the Recognition, the Enthronization, and the oath, the utterances of the "fierce democracy" of the people of England. They contain, on the other hand, in the Unction, the Crown, the Fatal Stone, in the sanction of the prelates and the homage of the nobles, the primitive regard for sacred places, sacred relics, consecrated persons, and heaven-descended rights, lingering on through all the counteracting tendencies of change and time."—Pp. 111, 112.

Every one who has visited Westminster Abbey has seen the famous coronation chair inclosing the still more famous Stone of Scone. This stone was formerly in the capital of the Scottish kingdom, and with it, at least as early as the fourteenth century, was connected the following legend:

The stony pillow on which Jacob slept at Bethel was by his countrymen transported to Egypt. Thither came Gathelus, son of Cecrops, king of Athens, and married Scota, daughter of Pharaoh. He and his Egyptian wife, alarmed at the fame of Moses, fled with the stone to Sicily or to Spain. From Spain it was carried to Ireland. On the sacred hill of Tara it became "Lia Fail," the "Stone of Destiny." On it the kings of Ireland were placed. If the chief was a true successor, the stone was silent; if a pretender, it groaned aloud as with thunder. Fergus, the founder of the Scottish monarchy, bore the sacred stone across the sea from Ireland to Dunstaffnage. In the vaults of Dunstaffnage Castle a hole is still shown where it is said to have been laid. With the migration of the Scots eastward the stone was moved by Kenneth II. (A. D. 840) and planted on a raised plot of ground at Scone, "because that the last battle with the Picts was there fought." It was there encased in a chair of

wood and stood by a cross on the east of the monastic cemetery, on or beside the Mount of Belief, which still exists. In it, or upon it, the kings of Scotland were placed by the Earls of Fife. From it Scone became the *sedes principalis* of Scotland, and the kingdom of Scotland the kingdom of Scone; and hence, for many generations Perth, and not Edinburgh, was regarded as the capital city of Scotland.

On this precious relic Edward I. fixed his hold. On it he himself was crowned king of the Scots. Westminster was to be an English Scone. It was his latest care for the Abbey. In that last year of Edward's reign [1307] the venerable chair, which still incloses it, was made for it by the order of its captor; the fragment of the world-old Celtic races was embedded in the new Plantagenet oak. The king had originally intended the seat to have been of bronze, and the workman, Adam, had actually begun it. But it was ultimately constructed of wood and decorated by Walter the painter.—Pp. 61–63.

In this chair (scratched over from top to bottom with the names of inquisitive visitors) and on this throne every English sovereign from Edward I. to Queen Victoria has been inaugurated. Once only has it been moved out of the Abbey, at the installation of Cromwell as Lord Protector. It has been called the one primeval monument which binds together the whole empire. The iron rings, the battered surface, the crack which has all but rent its solid mass asunder, bear witness to its long migrations—

> "A base, foul stone made precious by the foil
> Of England's chair." —Richard III., Act V, Sc. III.

Much of the interest one takes in Westminster Abbey arises from the royal tombs it contains. "The burial-places of kings are always famous." The example of Constantine, who was laid in the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople, has been followed east and west, and every European nation has now its royal consecrated cemetery. Westminster Abbey unites the coronations with the burials.

> "That antique pile behold,
> Where royal heads receive the sacred gold;
> It gives them crowns, and does their ashes keep;
> There made like gods, like mortals there they sleep;
> Making the circle of their reign complete,
> These suns of empire, where they rise they set."
> —Waller, on St. James's Park.

The grave of Edward the Confessor drew other royal sepulchers around it. The custom, however, grew but slowly, and

has not been universal. The Conqueror was buried at Caen, William Rufus at Winchester, Henry I. at Reading, Henry II. and Richard I. at Fontevrault, John at Worcester, and others elsewhere. Henry III. (1216–1272) rebuilt and beautified the Abbey. At his coronation he dedicated the "Lady Chapel," built at the eastern end of the Abbey, a prolongation of the building, "a new place of honor behind the altar."

This king was distinguished for a passionate addiction to art in all its forms, and was greatly influenced by what he saw in his visits to France. He determined to make his new church (he went so far as to tear down the venerable pile consecrated by the recollections of the Confessor and the Conqueror) incomparable for beauty.

On it foreign painters and sculptors were invited to expend their utmost skill. "Peter the Roman citizen" was set at work on the shrine, where his name can still be read. The mosaics were from Rome. Mosaics and enamel were combined throughout in a union found nowhere else in England.

The king's extravagance is seen in the fact that he expended half a million pounds sterling on the edifice. The sums making up this amount were appropriated from high quarters and low "with desperate avidity."

The enormous exactions have left their lasting traces on the English constitution in no less a monument than the House of Commons, which rose into existence as a protest against the king's lavish expenditure on the mighty Abbey which it confronts.

In the center of this richly ornamented structure was erected the costly shrine of the Confessor, which remains to the present. To this spot, on the 13th of October, 1269, the corpse of Edward was translated with great pomp. Henry, during the fifty or more years of his reign, had seen the new Abbey arise in all its beauty, and decided that it should be the sepulcher of himself and the whole Plantagenet race. He died November 16, 1272, and was buried four days later, his body being laid in the empty coffin of the Confessor; ten years later his body was placed in the tomb built meanwhile out of the precious marbles and slabs of porphyry brought from the East by his son.

One of the most noticeable tombs is that of Henry V., whose funeral, grand beyond description, occurred November

7, 1422. For the erection of his chantry a new chapel sprang up, growing out of that of St. Edward and almost reaching the dignity of another Lady Chapel.

High above his tomb were hung his large emblazoned shield, his saddle, and his helmet, where they still remain. The saddle is that on which he

> "'Vaulted with such ease into his seat
> As if an angel dropped down from the clouds
> To witch the world with noble horsemanship.'"
> —HENRY V., Act IV, Sc. I.

The helmet is in all probability "that very casque that did affright the air at Agincourt," which twice saved his life on that eventful day—still showing in its dints the marks of the ponderous sword of the Duke of Alençon—"the bruised helmet" which he refused to have borne in state before him on his triumphal entry into London "for that he would have the praise chiefly given to God"—

> "'Being free from vainness and self-glorious pride,
> Giving full trophy, signal and ostent,
> Quite from himself to God.'" —HENRY V., Act V, Cho.

The chapel of Henry VII. occupies the extreme eastern part of the Abbey. It is a magnificent structure, built in the French style. The king's pride in its grandeur was commemorated by the ship, vast for those times, which he built "of equal cost with his chapel," which afterward, in the reign of Mary, "sank in the sea and vanished in a moment." The chapel was begun January 24, 1503, and was about completed at his death, May 9, 1509. Round his tomb stand his ten accustomed avours or guardian saints, St. Michael, St. John the Baptist, St. John the Evangelist, St. George, St. Anthony, St. Edward, St. Vincent, St. Anne, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Barbara, as ordered in his will. Bacon, his historian, says:

> So he lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and the sepulcher. So that he dwelleth more richly dead in the monument of his tomb than he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces.

Along the sides of this old chapel are hung the faded banners which once belonged to the Knights of the Bath, a title which first appears as a distinctive name in the time of Henry V. The knights were bathed in the prince's chamber and kept their vigil in Henry VII.'s chapel, where also the installations took place; they continued until 1812, since which time

they have ceased. In 1839 the order underwent so extensive an enlargement that no banners have since been added to those then hung in the chapel. Under the banners are the knights' stalls.

Queen Elizabeth died in Richmond Palace March 24, 1603. Her body was brought by the Thames to Westminster April 28.

> "The queen did come by water to Whitehall,
> The oars at every stroke did tears let fall."

She was buried in Henry VII.'s chapel by the unmarked grave of her unfortunate predecessor.

At the head of the monument raised by her successor over the narrow vault are to be read two lines full of a far deeper feeling than we should naturally have ascribed to him—"*Regno consortes et urna, hic obdormimus Elizabetha et Maria sorores in spe resurrectionis?*" The long war of the English Reformation is closed in those words. In that contracted sepulcher, admitting of none other but those two, the stately coffin of Elizabeth rests on the coffin of Mary. The sisters are at one; the daughter of Catherine of Aragon and the daughter of Anne Boleyn repose in peace at last.—P. 181.

Strange to say, the tomb of no less a personage than James I. was unknown until 1869. The attention of Dean Stanley had been called to the conflicting accounts as found in the printed statements, and with the concurrence of the proper authorities he instituted a careful search, and after a number of disappointments succeeded in finding the resting-place of the king. The printed accounts of James's interment were found entirely at fault, and the accuracy of the Abbey Register was curiously confirmed. The coffin was found in the tomb of Henry VII., along with those of this king and his queen.

Apart from his immediate and glorious predecessor—apart from his mother, then lying in her almost empty vault with his eldest son—apart from his two beloved infant daughters—apart from his queen, who lies alone in her ample vault as if waiting for her husband to fill the vacant space—the first Stuart king, who united England and Scotland, was laid in the venerable cavern, for such in effect it is, which contained the remains of the first Tudor king, who, with his queen, had united the two contending factions of English history.—P. 684, (Appendix.)

The last king buried in the Abbey was George II., whose funeral (described by Horace Walpole) occurred November 11, 1760. The latest royal interments have been at Windsor.

The chapter on the "Monuments" is introduced by the lines of Tickell—among the best of the many which the suggestive place has called forth:

> "Oft let me range the gloomy aisles alone,
> Sad luxury! To vulgar minds unknown,
> Along the walls where speaking marbles show
> What worthies form the hallowed mold below;
> Proud names, who once the reins of empire held,
> In arms who triumphed, or in arts excelled;
> Chiefs graced with scars and prodigal of blood;
> Stern patriots, who for sacred freedom stood;
> Just men, by whom impartial laws were given;
> And saints who taught, and led the way to heaven."

Of all the characteristics of Westminster Abbey, that which most endears it to the nation and gives most force to its name is that it is the resting-place of famous Englishmen from every rank and creed and every form of mind and genius.

It is this aspect which, more than any other, won for it the delightful visits of Addison in the "Spectator," of Steele in the "Tattler," of Goldsmith in the "Citizen of the World," of Charles Lamb in "Elia," of Washington Irving in the "Sketch Book." It is this which inspired the saying of Nelson, "Victory or Westminster Abbey!" and which has intertwined it with so many eloquent passages of Macaulay. Kings are no longer buried within its walls; even the splendor of pageants has ceased to attract; but the desire to be interred in Westminster Abbey is still as strong as ever.—Pp. 207, 208.

The many monuments, too numerous to be even enumerated here, are grouped and described by our author as follows: Courtiers of various kings and queens; magnates of the commonwealth; chiefs of the Reformation; heroes of the Dutch war, the revolution of 1688, etc.; statesmen of the house of Hanover; soldiers; sailors; heroes of American and Indian wars; modern statesmen; Indian statesmen; philanthropists; poets; historians; theologians; men of letters; actors; musicians; artists; men of science; physicians; the nobility. We must content ourselves with a brief mention of a few of the names found in the southern transept or "Poets' Corner." Washington Irving speaks for all his countrymen when he says:

I have always observed that the visitors to the Abbey remain longest about the simple memorials in Poets' Corner. A kinder and fonder feeling takes the place of that cold curiosity

or vague admiration with which they gaze on the splendid monuments of the great and the heroic. They linger about these as about the tombs of friends and companions.*

The great Chaucer died (October 25, 1400) in a house standing on what is now a part of the Abbey; among his last utterances were the pathetic words—

> "Here is no home—here is but wilderness,
> Forth, pilgrim; forth, O, beast, out of thy stall!
> Look up on high, and thank thy God of all.
> Control thy lust; and let thy spirit thee lead;
> And Truth thee shall deliver; 'tis no dread."

Royal favor secured for him a resting-place in the Abbey. It was not till the reign of Edward VI. that the present tomb was raised, (1551.)

Spenser, who died January 16, 1599, lies near Chaucer.

His hearse was attended by poets, and mournful elegies and poems, with the pens that wrote them, were thrown into his tomb. What a funeral was that at which Beaumont, Fletcher, Jonson, and in all probability Shakespeare, attended! What a grave in which the pen of Shakespeare may be molding away!

Beaumont also lies near Chaucer. He died March 9, 1615. A year later, April 23, 1616, Shakespeare died; owing, no doubt, to the imperfect recognition of his genius, he was buried at Stratford, where he still lies; his beautiful monument in the Abbey, with its appropriate inscription from the "Tempest," was erected in 1740. Ben Jonson, "the first unquestionable laureate," soon followed; he died August 16, 1637. According to the local tradition, he asked the king (Charles I.) to grant him a favor. "What is it?" said the king. "Give me eighteen inches of square ground." "Where?" asked the king. "In Westminster Abbey." This is one explanation given of the story that he was buried standing upright. Another is that it was with a view to his readiness for the resurrection. He lies buried in the north aisle, in the path of square stone opposite to the scutcheon of Robertus De Ros, with this inscription only on him, in a pavement-square of blue marble, about fourteen inches square,

O RARE BEN JONSON!

"which was done at the charge of Jack Young, (afterward

* "Sketch Book," p. 216.

knighted,) who, walking there when the grave was covering, gave the fellow eighteen-pence to cut it."

Goldsmith, who died April 4, 1774, was buried at the Temple. "I remember once," said Dr. Johnson, "being with Goldsmith in Westminster Abbey. While we surveyed the Poets' Corner I said to him, '*Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur istis.*' When we got to Temple Bar he stopped me, pointed to the heads [of the Jacobites] upon it and slyly whispered me, '*Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebiter istis.*'"

Goldsmith's monument is on the south wall of the south transept in a situation selected by Sir Joshua Reynolds and with the well known Latin inscription composed by Dr. Johnson, who denied even the famous round-robin of his friends asking that the epitaph might be in English rather than in Latin.

The whole inscription shows the supreme position which Goldsmith occupied in English literature; and one expression, at least, has passed from it into the proverbial Latin of mankind—*Nihil tetigit quod non ornavit.*

Goldsmith was soon followed by Johnson.

A few days before his death (December 13, 1784) he asked Sir John Hawkins, one of his executors, where he should be buried; and on being answered, "Doubtless in Westminster Abbey," seemed to feel a satisfaction very natural to a poet, and indeed very natural to every man of any imagination who has no family sepulcher in which he can be laid with his fathers.

A flag-stone with the name of Johnson and the date alone marks the spot, (near the Shakespeare monument.) The monument long intended to be placed on it was at last transferred to St. Paul's.

The vacillating character of public opinion is well illustrated in the case of Milton. His death occurred in 1674. Thirty years later, in 1708, John Philips, confessedly an imitator of the great poet, died and was buried in the Abbey. The partial patron who composed the inscription on his tomb declared that in the field of blank verse he was second to Milton *alone:* "*Uni Miltono secundus, primoque pone par.*" The words were obliterated, as the Royalist Dean would not allow the name of "the regicide Milton" to be engraved on the walls of the Abbey. Four years later, when Atterbury was Dean, the excommunication was removed and the obnoxious lines

admitted. Another four years later "the irresistible feeling of admiration growing in every English heart" found free expression. "Such was the change of public opinion," said Dr. Gregory to Dr. Johnson, "that I have seen erected in the church a bust of that man whose name I once knew considered as a pollution of its walls." "It is, indeed," says Dean Stanley, "a triumph of the force of truth and genius such as of itself hallows the place which has witnessed it."

Another illustration of the tardy recognition of real worth and greatness is seen in the memorial tablet so recently erected to John and Charles Wesley, whose brief inscription will be read with appreciative hearts by others as well as Methodist visitors to this famous shrine. It may not be generally known that the Wesleys were connected with the great Abbey. Dean Stanley tells us that

> Samuel Wesley, elder brother of John and Charles, who inherited his mother's strong Jacobite tendencies, was attracted to a mastership at Westminster by his friendship for Atterbury; and in his house was nurtured his brother Charles, "the sweet psalmist" of the Church of those days, who went from thence as a Westminster student to Christ Church.

If ever hero deserved interment within these royal walls it was he whose embalmed body was brought a short yesterday ago from beyond the sea and placed here—the immortal Livingstone, "missionary, philanthropist, explorer." As one stands above the grave and reads the well-worded inscription on the stone he cannot but feel the inspiration that comes from the study of the life of a great, unselfish man.

As we stroll through the Poets' Corner and think of the greatest geniuses who have followed in the steps of Chaucer we miss several of the most famous. Pope is not here. It was his own wish (as expressed in his epitaph) to be interred by his mother's side in the parish church of Twickenham. Of a later date, Burns sleeps at Dumfries, Sir Walter Scott at Dryburgh; Byron lies at Newstead. "We cannot even now retrace the close of the brilliant and miserable career of the most celebrated Englishman of the nineteenth century," says Macaulay, "without feeling something of what was felt by those who saw the hearse, with its long train of carriages, turn slowly northward, leaving behind it that cemetery which had

been consecrated by the dust of so many great poets, but of which the doors were closed against all that remained of Byron." It was understood that an unfavorable answer would be given to any application to inter Byron in the Abbey.

The monuments to actors bring us to a subject where opinions certainly differ. In France—not over-religious, surely—Christian burial was denied to actors unless they repudiated their profession; but the Church of England, following the example of Rome, has shown greater liberality of opinion, and Westminster Abbey is the crowning scene of this triumph of the stage. "Not only has it included under its walls the memorials of the greatest of dramatists, and also those whose morality is the most obnoxious to complaint, but it has opened its doors to the whole race of illustrious actors and actresses." We are not surprised to read that a protest was raised against the epitaph of Shadwell, and also against the monument of Anne Oldfield, (buried in the Abbey October 27, 1730.) Graves like hers and that of Congreve seem sadly out of place in the sacred mausoleum. On visiting Garrick's monument, even Charles Lamb, "the gentlest and most genial of mortals," was constrained to say:

> Though I would not go so far, with some good Catholics abroad, as to shut players altogether out of consecrated ground, yet I own I was a little scandalized at the introduction of theatrical airs and gestures into a place set apart to remind us of the saddest realities. Going nearer, I found inscribed under this harlequin figure a farrago of false thoughts and nonsense.

Dean Stanley's remarks on this subject are so characteristic that they deserve a place here:

> Courayer, the foreign latitudinarian, Ephraim Chambers, the skeptic of the humbler, and Sheffield, of the higher ranks, were buried with all respect and honor by the "College of Priests" at Westminster, who thus acknowledged that the bruised reed was not to be broken nor the smoking flax quenched. Even the yet harder problem of high intellectual gifts united with moral infirmity or depravity has, on the whole, here met with the only solution which on earth can be given. If Byron was turned from our doors, many a one as questionable as Byron has been admitted. Close above the monument of the devoted Granville Sharpe is the monument of the epicurean St. Evremond. Close beneath the tablet of the blameless Wharton lies the licentious Congreve. The godlike gift of genius was recognized—the baser earthly

part was left to the merciful judgment of its Creator. So long as Westminster Abbey maintains its hold on the affections of the English Church and nation, so long will it remain a standing proof that there is in the truest feelings of human nature, and in the noblest aspirations of religion, something deeper and broader than the partial judgments of the day and the technical distinctions of sects—even than the just though, for the moment, misplaced indignation against the errors and sins of our brethren. It is the involuntary homage which perverted genius pays to the superior worth of goodness that it seeks to be at least honored within the building consecrated to the purest hopes of the soul of man; and when we consent to receive such within our walls it is the best acknowledgment of the truth uttered by the Christian poet:

> "There is no light but thine,
> With thee all beauty glows."

The oft-quoted words of Addison very naturally suggest themselves to one as he walks through those consecrated aisles and looks upon the numerous monuments:

When I am in a serious humor I very often walk by myself in Westminster Abbey; where the gloominess of the place, and the use to which it is applied, with the solemnity of the building, and the condition of the people who lie in it, are apt to fill the mind with a kind of melancholy, or rather thoughtfulness, that is not disagreeable. . . . I know that entertainments of this nature are apt to raise dark and dismal thoughts in timorous minds and gloomy imaginations; but for my own part, though I am always serious, I do not know what it is to be melancholy; and can therefore take a view of nature in her deep and solemn scenes with the same pleasure as in her most gay and delightful ones. By this means I can improve myself with those objects which others consider with terror. When I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies in me; when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire grows out; when I meet with the grief of parents upon a tombstone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow; when I see kings lying by those who deposed them, when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes, I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs, of some that died yesterday and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries and make our appearance together.*

Westminster Abbey is above eulogistic phrases. Its future will, no doubt, be at least holier than its past. We can most

* "Spectator," No. 26.

heartily agree with Dean Stanley in the concluding utterances of the work before us:

Not surely in vain did the architects of successive generations raise this consecrated edifice in its vast and delicate proportions, more keenly appreciated in this our day than in any other since it first was built; designed, if ever were any forms on earth, to lift the soul heavenward to things unseen. Not surely in vain has our English language grown to meet the highest ends of devotion with a force which the rude native dialect and barbaric Latin of the Confessor's age could never attain. Not surely for idle waste has a whole world of sacred music been created which no ear of Norman or Plantagenet ever heard, nor skill of Saxon harper or Celtic minstrel ever conceived. Not surely for nothing has the knowledge of the will of God almost steadily increased century by century, through the better understanding of the Bible, of history, and of nature. Not surely in vain has the heart of man kept its freshness while the world has been waxing old, and the most restless and inquiring intellects cling to the belief that "the everlasting arms are still beneath us," and that "prayer is the potent inner supplement of man's outward life." Here, if anywhere, the Christian worship of England may labor to meet both the strength and the weakness of succeeding ages; to inspire new meaning into ancient forms, and embrace within itself each rising aspiration after all greatness, human and divine.

So considered, so used, the Abbey of Westminster may become more and more a witness to that one Sovereign Good, to that one Supreme Truth—a shadow of a great rock in a weary land, a haven of rest in this tumultuous world, a breakwater for the waves upon waves of human hearts and souls which beat unceasingly around its island shores.—P. 583.

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## Art. V.—RUSSIA AND ENGLAND IN CENTRAL ASIA.

*The Territorial Expansion of Russia.* By D. Mackenzie Wallace. "The Fortnightly Review," 1876.

*Afghanistan.* By A. G. Constable. New York: Harper & Brothers.

*Account of Persia.* By James B. Fraser. New York: Harper & Brothers.

*Story of the Merv.* By Edmond O'Donovan. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. 1884.

No event is insignificant, for every event has its relations, and is a link in the extended chain of human progress. Things comparatively trivial have their bearing on the question of the world's civilization. The common interest of all men in what concerns any portion of the race is a demonstrable fact. The cannon discharged in the mountain-passes of Central Asia send

their reverberations into all lands. The dominancy, in the strongholds of the East, of Saxon or Cossack, of Christian or Mussulman, is a matter which concerns us and our children, and all the coming generations of men.

The submission of the tribes of Merv to Russia may not seem, at first view, to be an affair of very great importance. If Turcomania has really become a part of the great growing empire of Russia, it may not be immediately manifest how the interests of civilization will be affected. But Russia, the territorial neighbor of England—Russia, on the very borders of India—Russia, holding the strong mountain districts which command, in a military sense, the rich provinces of Hindustan—Russia, allying to herself the warlike tribes of Central Asia—this may mean a fierce contest of arms, involving the great powers of Europe, determining the course of future events, and helping or hindering the happiness of mankind. O'Donovan, in the narrative of his thrilling adventures, describes the Merv as including the entire country occupied by the Turcoman clans known as the Merv Tekkes. The capture of Geok Tepe by the Russians occurred while O'Donovan was experiencing his honorable captivity in Turcoman. Although created a khan, and treated with marked distinction, he was, nevertheless, held as a prisoner, and was only released in accordance with the peremptory demand of the British minister at Teheran, the Persian capital. The reason seemed to be, that the Mervs feared subjugation by the Russians, and were really anxious to secure the protection of England. "The Turcomans entertained the belief," says O'Donovan, "that British troops would speedily march, *via* Herat to Merv, if they were not already on the way." But, at that very time, the English were preparing to evacuate Candahar, and to leave not only the Tekkes, but also the Afghans, to such fortune as might come to them from Russian diplomacy and arms. The Merv chiefs were ready enough to fight against Ayoub Khan, if permitted to do so under the English banner, and, indeed, they formally proffered their allegiance to the British Queen; but the English embassador at the Persian court, while thanking them for their kindly sentiments, said: "It is my duty, however, to state to you, with reference to the proffer of allegiance to the British government, that the proposal that the people of Merv should

become British subjects is one that, owing to various causes, physical as well as political, cannot be entertained." The English policy left Russia at liberty to prosecute her ambitious designs unobstructed, and recent events certainly do not surprise those who have carefully observed the drift of affairs. The Russian eagles are now on the borders of Afghanistan, which country is separated from Turkistan only by the Paropamisan Mountains, and by the Hindoo-Coosh—a crest of the Himalaya range. The Jelum and the Indus Rivers formerly divided Afghanistan from India, but the acquisition of Scinde and Punjaub carried the line of British dominion westward, nearly to the base of the Solyman Mountains. It is plain, therefore, that the place to defend Calcutta, Delhi, and Bombay is not on the banks of the Indus, but in the impregnable mountain-passes of the Hindoo-Coosh. The practical extension of the Russian frontier makes the question of the political or governmental control of the powerless states of Central Asia, as well as the question of the future of the British Empire in India, a living question, demanding immediate consideration, and one which is of transcendent importance to the Old World and the New. English occupation in Hindustan has been a steady advance from the South toward this disputed border-land; in the meantime, Russia has as steadily moved down from the North. Constable said, in 1879:

> The Russian journals of recent date make no secret of Kaufmann's intention to occupy the oasis of Merv, if he can reach it. Once at Merv, which is within ten easy marches of Herat, the Russians are in possession of a base from which they might, with comparative security and a reasonable chance of success, operate against Afghanistan, and, in the event of a failure on the part of the English to prepare for such a contingency, even against India itself. Whether the Russian policy is really antagonistic to the English rule in India or not, it is, as I have said, impossible for the Indian government to shut its eyes to the possibilities of a Russian, Persian, Turcoman, and Usbeg force marching on Herat.

Russia has control of the Caspian Sea, the Aral Sea, and the river Oxus. She dictates the policy of the Persian court, and she has a faithful ally in the Emir of Bokhara. The victories of Kaufmann have not only secured to her important strategical positions in Turkistan, but have also opened her way to the very gates of Afghanistan. If she can secure

Herat or Cabul, or even a protectorate over the territory of the latter, she has reached the north-western boundary of India, and holds in her hands the keys of the East. Herat is a point of great importance. It is a frontier town between Persia and Afghanistan, and it is connected by high-roads with the capitals of all the surrounding countries. Every invasion of India has been by the way of the Bolan Pass, southward of Herat, on to the plains of the Indus. The Persian siege of Herat, in 1838, as was well understood in India, was encouraged by Russia. It is even certain that Russian officers assisted the Persians in the siege. More than a score of times have pillaging armies, seeking not only conquest, but plunder, swept down upon India through the defiles of Afghanistan.

"Where then," inquires Constable, "is the strategical frontier of British India?" "I think," he answers, "the English are about to settle this by the permanent occupation of the interior of these famous passes." If, for the last fifty years, Russian officers in Central Asia have coveted the wealth and warmth, the rich harvests and the richer cities of India, is it any marvel that in England, and especially among British residents in India, there has been a growing determination that, cost what it may, the Cossacks shall remain on the northern slopes of the Hindoo-Coosh? The Russian advancement and interference have been constant. The English general, Roberts, in an official report, confirms the suspicion that Russian or other foreign officers assisted Ayoub Khan, when in arms against British authority. The necessity of a permanent English protectorate in Afghanistan becomes more manifest every hour. It was said, when Gen. Burrows was defeated, with the loss of two thousand European troops and a large India contingent, and the expenditure of twenty millions sterling, that it was paying "a high price for a scientific frontier."

One might answer this in the language of D. Mackenzie Wallace, in "The Fortnightly Review:"

> The idea of a central zone between the Russian and British frontiers in Asia is an absurdity, fit only to amuse diplomatists, and unworthy of being entertained by practical statesmen, unless, indeed, it were possible to find a broad uninhabited zone which would serve the same purpose as the great wall of China. If it be habitable, it will inevitably become an asylum for all the robbers and lawless spirits within a radius of many hundred miles,

and no civilized power can reasonably be expected to accept such neighbors. If such a zone had been established, Russia might justly have spoken to England in this fashion: "I object to have at my doors this refuge for rascality. Either you must preserve order among the inmates or allow me to do so." . . . Russia must push forward her frontier until she reaches a country possessing a government which is able and willing to keep order within its borders, and to prevent its subjects from committing depredations on their neighbors. As none of the petty states of Central Asia seems capable of permanently fulfilling this condition, it is pretty certain that the Russian and British frontiers will one day meet. Where they will meet depends upon ourselves. If we do not wish her to overstep a certain line, we must ourselves advance to that line.

This reasoning is entirely conclusive, and in perfect harmony with the facts.

Many persons seem to think that this question of the presence and influence of a great European power in Afghanistan is a recent question. On the contrary, it is as old as the century, and every far-seeing statesman for at least two generations, having knowledge of affairs in the East, has realized its existence and importance. In 1809 Napoleon sent Gen. Gardauné to Persia in the hope of inducing the Shah to invade India; and the Indian government, at about the same time, sent a representative to the court of Shah Soojah, in Afghanistan, to create an opposition to Persia. A mission was also sent to the Persian court, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, was actually entered into by the Persian and British governments. It is well known that Napoleon regarded India as England's vulnerable point, and that he cherished an ambition of rivaling the fame of Alexander by a triumphant march through the East. But Wellington settled that little matter on the field of Waterloo, and there was no longer any danger to India from the diplomacy or arms of France.

Then arose the dark shadow of Russian aggression. "The annexation of Georgia to the empire of the Czar," as Constable says, "brought the eagles of Russia to the frontiers of Persia." Since that day, no English statesman has been indifferent to the affairs of Central Asia. They are germinant with empire, and they contain, in embryo, what must seriously affect the great future of the race. The Russian policy has been a constant quantity; her diplomacy and arms have borne

her victorious standards steadily forward toward the shores of the Indian Ocean. But English operations, especially in Afghanistan, which is really the key to the situation, have ebbed and flowed with the waves of partisan politics at home. Vast sums have been expended, and thousands of precious lives sacrificed, for no valuable result. The prediction of Constable has not been fulfilled. "The permanent occupation of the interior of the famous passes," in Afghanistan, which are the natural and well-nigh impregnable defenses of the British Empire in India, has not been realized. If a contrary policy had been pursued—if Candahar and Cabul and Herat, and the adjacent provinces, had been taken under British protection—if the English flag had been boldly planted on the summits of the Hindoo-Coosh—an alliance might have been formed with the Turcomans which would have secured to England, in case of necessity, a hundred thousand mounted troops, and which would have arrested the advance of the Russian eagles on the shores of the Caspian or the banks of the Oxus. But the cry of "Jingoism" and the clamors of the rate-payers weakened the hands of the government. What had been secured was relinquished. And yet in the disastrous hour of Gen. Burrows's defeat, when it was persistently asked, "Why was an English army in Afghanistan to be slaughtered?" it might have been triumphantly answered: The army was there as the representative of the English name and power; it was there as the defender of the empire of India, with its one hundred thousand European residents and as many more Eurasians; with its nine hundred and fifty thousand square miles of territory and its one hundred and ninety millions of people, to say nothing of dependencies; with its two hundred millions of dollars of annual revenue, all of which and more is expended in India for the improvement and elevation of the country and its inhabitants; with its paid-up railway capital of four hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars, represented by five thousand miles of trunk railway, linking together such distant and important points as Madras, Bombay, Calcutta, and Lahore; with its nearly two thousand miles of irrigating canals and other works of irrigation, to prevent or to mitigate famine; and with its fifteen thousand miles of land and marine telegraph, bringing every part of the eastern

British Empire within twelve hours of speaking distance of London. It was there because, as the Russian frontier advances, the area for British commerce diminishes; it was there to prevent Russian custom-houses, with their protective tariffs, from being established within gun-shot of British sentries on the Indus; it was there as the pioneer of Anglo-Saxon ideas, books, enginery, printing-presses, locomotives, telegraphs, schools, churches, and all the practical benefits of the richest material and spiritual civilization on the globe; it was there to command peace among warring tribes, and, soon or later, to secure it, and to bring to all of them impartially the blessings of law, order, and stability; it was there to guard those mountain defiles through which every invading army has come, on its errand of robbery and murder, into the rich lands and cities of India; it was there because of the right of self-preservation, and because England stands before the world as the protector of two hundred and fifty millions of Orientals whom she is bound to defend against spoliation and ruin; it was there in the interest of nearly two millions of Christians occupying British Asia, and intensely concerned in the permanence and power of England's empire in the East; it was there, finally, because the invasion of Afghanistan was required by British policy in Asia, and because the prestige of the British Empire must be preserved or the evacuation of India must follow.

The wisdom of the British diplomacy, the prowess of the British army, the weight and majesty of the British government, must be maintained in Afghanistan, and must be demonstrated to all fanatical Moslems, and to all intriguing adherents of Russia, and to all the native races south of the Himalayas, or the pillars of Britain's empire in the East will be wrenched from their foundation, and the whole magnificent structure she has reared be reduced to a hopeless ruin.

The evacuation of India, at the bidding of Mohammedan or Cossack, would be the permanent humiliation of England, an irreparable misfortune to two hundred and fifty millions of Moslems and Hindus, and a serious disaster to the civilized world. It would so effectually arrest and turn back the tide of Christian advancement and of human progress that centuries would not witness the reflow and the recovery of what had

been lost. It would stagnate the world's commerce and send financial wreck and ruin into every realm of trade. On the fair missionary morning of the world's redemption and millennial glory it would cast the midnight blackness of despair and death. England's Queen is also India's Empress, and Great Britain is bound to devote her last shilling and her last soldier before that diadem is snatched from Victoria's brow.

England and Russia face each other in the passes and on the mountain-ranges of Afghanistan. It is an Anglo-Saxon or a Cossack victory which is to be achieved. It is a contest, not only for empire and national supremacy, but for civilization, for liberty, for the future of the race. It is a deadly grip betwixt Protestantism and the Greek Church, betwixt liberal forms of government and a crushing despotism, betwixt an open field for missionary activities and the withering blight of Nihilism. The best hopes of man, for the best possible future of the race, shine, with growing brightness, in the advance and triumph of the English arms. If English power and English law become predominant and permanent in Afghanistan, the missionary and the Bible will follow; all the rich fruits of material progress will be reaped by all the people of that land; churches and schools will be established, roads and bridges will be constructed, and, although the great mass of the present generation may die in the faith of Islam, the Gospel leaven will ultimately accomplish its work and produce a nobler and more beneficent type of social and religious life. Christian civilization advances with the flag of every great Protestant power; and if England shall become as securely intrenched in Afghanistan as she is in India, kindred results of Gospel teaching and triumph will be developed. English predominance in Afghanistan will make an end of the wars of upstart princes and contending factions; will emancipate woman from a tyranny greater than that of the sword, and give her equal rights in the school and in the church, and will secure to labor its just and honorable fruits—the accumulation of property and its undisturbed possession. "Intellectual and moral power," says Bishop Edward Thomson, "has both rights and responsibilities, and is destined to rule the earth under the providence of God." He argues that pagan and Mohammedan peoples "may do wrongs which may justify superior nations in exercising

power over them," and this exercise of power may improve their condition and promote all their best interests. There can be no dispute that British authority in India, while it has despoiled, sometimes unjustly and cruelly, native princes, has nevertheless emancipated the oppressed peoples, abolished hurtful superstitions, and greatly benefited the masses. "What would it advantage the peoples of Hindustan," asks Constable, "to change English for Russian rule? The Russians govern with the iron hand of military power. The English government of India is based on civil law, right, and justice, although sustained by mighty strength." He argues that the great feudal chiefs of India, Hindu and Mussulman, understand the difference between English and Russian rule, and concludes as follows: "With our knowledge of the facility with which Russia could, in alliance with Persia and the Afghans, enter the plains of India, surely we may concede that it is the paramount duty of England to take every precaution against such a result." Not only Persians and Afghans will be rallied under the Russian banner, but Turcomans also, who, as we have seen, offered their allegiance to England and were repulsed. Constable says:

> These Tekkes are the most warlike of the Turcoman race, and are settled, if a nomadic people can ever be called settled, along the river Attruck and the skirts of the hills from the Caspian to the Merv. They number sixty thousand tents, or—five persons to a tent—three hundred thousand souls. If they are brought under the influence of Russia they, with the Salor and Saruk tribes, could readily furnish a force of fifty thousand men, which, under Russian officers, would be the most formidable light cavalry in the world.

O'Donovan describes the Tekkes as splendid horsemen and fearless fighters, delighting in raids and contests of arms.

There is another element entering into this problem of empire in the East which is of stupendous importance, and that is, the religious element. It is not merely a contest betwixt the Greek Church and Protestantism, or betwixt Christianity and paganism. In religion the Afghans and the Turcomans are Mohammedans, and are intensely superstitious and bigoted. Russia does not seek to impose on her subjects in Central Asia the forms of the Greek Church. The Crescent and the Cross seem to be equally in favor with the government. No spirit

of propagandism is manifested by the adherents of the State Church. In this particular Russia has an advantage in the fierce struggle for dominion; for British authority, established in any land, is certain to be followed by Protestant teaching and the spirit and work of evangelism. It is reasonable to expect that the followers of the False Prophet will be easily stirred to vindictive opposition in the presence of an earnest Christian faith, and of persistent missionary labors. Islam, in the East, it is claimed, is tolerant of Parsees and Christians; but that is only in so far as Parsees and Christians do not interfere with the doctrine and worship of Mohammedanism. That the Turcomans and Afghans, and many of the dwellers in India, are Mussulmans, is a fact which must not be overlooked, or treated as of inferior importance, when we consider the gigantic forces which are to shape the future of Asiatic civilization.

Islam, from the beginning, has been a drama of marvel and power—splendid as a spectacle, and brilliant in achievement. One cannot contemplate without emotion that stupendous movement, embodying so much truth and so much falsehood, which, within a hundred years of the *hegira* of its great prophet, by preaching and praying and fighting, had fired its followers with the fiercest fanaticism, had made them superior to danger and death, and had converted them into such a body of invincible crusaders as the world has seldom seen. Islam—the word, though applied to a religion promulgated by fire and sword, means *to make peace*—beginning in an obscure city by the Red Sea, displaying the crescent, image of its growing power, promising paradise to the faithful, denouncing death and hell upon all unbelievers, and shouting in the ears of Christians and idolaters, "There is but one God, and Mohammed is his prophet;" arising at a period when Roman strength and glory were waning, and when there was no great, compact power to resist its advances; "more pure," as Gibbon says, "than the system of Zoroaster, more liberal than the law of Moses," and "less inconsistent with reason than the creed of mystery and superstition which, in the seventh century, disgraced the simplicity of the Gospel;" declaring, in its sacred book, that "the sword is the key of heaven and hell," that a drop of blood shed in the cause of God, a night spent in arms, is of more avail than two

months of fasting and prayer;" that "whosoever falls in battle his sins are forgiven, at the day of judgment his wounds shall be resplendent as vermilion, and odoriferous as musk," and that "the loss of his limbs shall be supplied by the wings of angels and cherubim;" teaching a doctrine of absolute fate and predestination, in accordance with which the dauntless Moslem ordained to perish in his bed, was absolutely safe and invulnerable from the darts of the enemy; summoning its followers "to freedom and victory, to arms and rapine, to the indulgence of their darling passions in this world and the other;" painting the rewards and punishments of a future life "by the images most congenial to an ignorant and carnal generation"—Islam, in a single century, had carried its victorious standards throughout Arabia, Syria, Persia, Afghanistan, and portions of India; and also through Egypt, Tunis, Tripoli, Algeria, and Morocco, to the very shores of the Atlantic, where the zealous Akbar, the Mohammedan Alexander, spurring his horse into the foaming waves, exclaimed with the enthusiasm of an apostle and with the bitterness of a fanatic, "Great God! if my course were not stopped by this sea, I would still go on to the unknown kingdoms of the West, preaching the unity of thy holy name, and putting to the sword the rebellious nations who worship any other gods than thee."

Though the armies of Islam could not cross the Atlantic, they could cross the Mediterranean, and the banner of the False Prophet was unfurled in triumph in the fairest provinces of Spain—in Andalusia, in Catalonia, in Castile, in Aragon, in Léon, and even in Asturias, in the extreme north. The Cross went down before the Crescent from the Strait of Gibraltar to the Bay of Biscay. The successes were as marked on the other side of the Pyrenees, till Charles Martel, on the banks of the Loire, in the very heart of France, gave Islam a blow which won for him the epithet "Hammer of God," stayed the proud waves of Moslem triumph, broke the spell of Mohammedan invincibility, and saved Europe and America to Christ and to Christian civilization.

In India, to-day, out of a total population of two hundred and forty-two millions, more than forty millions are Mohammedans; and in the provinces ruled by native princes, but sustained by British arms and influence, are about eight mill-

ions more. Of these forty-eight millions of Moslems thirty-six millions are distributed over northern India. On the western border, from the Himalaya Mountains to the Indian Ocean, they constitute not less than eighty per cent. of the total population. The government schools in India and the government offices are open to Mohammedans as well as to Hindus. Mohammedans form, it is said, the greater part of the Anglo-Indian army, and also of the native police. No Moslem prince, not even the Sultan of Turkey, rules over as many Mohammedans as the Protestant Queen of England and Empress of India. The followers of Islam in Afghanistan and in India, separated only by an invisible boundary line, are quickly and responsively sympathetic with each other. Can any man fail to see how profoundly this condition of things must enter into the question of the future of the British Empire in India? The successful government of the Moslem east of the Indus makes it necessary that the Moslem of Afghanistan and of Turcoman shall have a salutary respect for British power, courage, and resources. This is not a mere matter of political philosophy; historic facts demonstrate the proposition.

When Sir John Lawrence, Viceroy of India, entered on his high office in January, 1864, he found abundant proofs that the insurrection of the Sittanna fanatics, on the northwest frontier of India, had been encouraged by Mohammedan agents, who had been sent from Afghanistan to different parts of the empire to preach a holy war against the infidels. The influence of the Wahabees, a bitter fanatical Mohammedan sect who hold that it is the imperative duty of every true Mussulman to murder infidel rulers, has been steadily increasing in India for a number of years. They say that no one can be permanent master of Hindustan unless he invades it from the north; and that as the English sneaked into it from the south they will soon be driven out. It is indisputable that the Mussulmans of India are filled with a longing faith and expectation that their Imam—a prince of supreme temporal and spiritual power—is to come out of the West, to give them the government of Asia. They look with an earnest, enthusiastic hope for the flaming sign of a deliverer who shall appear on the mountain summits where the Aryans first rested on their march, to lead all those who shall be so happy

as to be there waiting for his coming to victory over the infidel here, and to sensuous delights in a promised paradise. The direct way, therefore, to keep down the Moslem turbulence in India is to subdue utterly the fierce, fanatical Mohammedans of Afghanistan and of Turkistan. It is from this quarter that the conquering leader is expected to come, and from which very possibly he may come. It is plain, then, that English predominance in Cabul, in Herat, and in Candahar, means peace, security, and social and financial prosperity in India.

"Any one who has lived on friendly terms with Mohammedans," says "The Fortnightly Review," "must have noticed that they are utterly inaccessible to the influence of Christianity. They are proud of their Mohammedanism, and look down on Christians as polytheists." It argues, therefore, that they are "pretty certain to withstand the proselyting tendencies of other faiths." But proselyting agencies are not the weapons of our warfare. The Gospel must be preached to these proud bigots as to other sinners, and with them, as with other sinners, it will prove the power of God unto salvation. Why should it not? Islam is rigidly monotheistic. It unites with Jew and Christian in proclaiming the sublime truth, before which every idolatrous system perishes, "The Lord our God is ONE LORD." It recognizes the authority of the Holy Scriptures. A Mohammedan scholar, Saiyid Ahmed Khan, Chief-Justice at Ghazipoor, on the Ganges, has made a translation of the Old and New Testaments, since both, he says, are still binding for the faith and life of Mohammedans. Rev. T. P. Hughes, missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Peshawur, says: "In Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, the conversion of a Moslem is looked upon as almost hopeless, whereas in the central provinces, and in the Punjaub, some of our best and most energetic Christians are converts from Islam." In the Syrian missions, where the missionaries are not allowed to preach openly among the Moslems, many girls have been gathered into the mission schools. Speaking of missions in Turkey and Persia, Mr. H. K. Carroll says: "Although few of the followers of the False Prophet have been reached by any of these missions, the influence of a pure and vital Christianity has had an effect upon them." So it

must be every-where. The Church is a city set on a hill, and in every land where it is established the light, soon or later, will scatter the darkness and reveal the truths of Christ's kingdom.

In some things it would seem that the Koran must prepare the way for the introduction of the Gospel. It affirms the divine presence, and demolishes idols and images. "We are only two," said the trembling Abubeker when, flying from persecution, he was with the prophet hidden in a cave. "There is a third," replied Mohammed, "it is God himself." The Koran forbids absolutely the use of wine, and enjoins prayer, fasting, and alms-giving, and insists that cleanliness is the key to prayer; and all this would be very salutary gospel for many a Christian congregation. O'Donovan states that when in Merv he was called on by a Seyd, a descendant of Mohammed, who said that he (O'Donovan) was so well acquainted with Mussulman tenets he saw no reason whatever why he should not openly embrace the true faith. Jesus and Moses were, he said, quite as much respected by the adherents of Islam as by his own co-religionists. In addition to the theological argument he offered O'Donovan the luxury of as many as four wives if he became a Mussulman. It is insisted, by a thoroughly competent observer, that, at least in Africa, "the work of Islam is preliminary and preparatory" to the introduction and triumph of the Gospel.

Christianity and Mohammedanism are the only growing, aggressive, missionary faiths, or religions, now in the world. They must yet meet in an open field, in the arena of reason and conscience, in a final and, it may be, prolonged and desperate struggle for prevalence and victory. Who can doubt the result? Or who can fail to see which side is for man, for material growth, for social well-being, for the uplifting of the race, and for the glory of God?

"No use to preach the Gospel to Mohammedans!" It is an old story, with but a slight variation. No use to preach the Gospel to Indians, to Negroes, to Hottentots, to cannibals, to savages, to bloodthirsty, dirt-eating pagans! Such have been the admonitions which the Church has received at different periods; and yet, among all these, jewels have been found for Messiah's crown. The Gospel which triumphed over the

bigoted Jew, the cultured Greek, the arrogant Roman, the brutal Goth and Vandal; which, in our day, has kindled its torch on every shore from Greenland to New Zealand; which has surrounded the continent of Africa with its blazing camp-fires; which has converted a howling wilderness into the garden of God, a very Eden of moral loveliness, in the Sandwich Islands and in Madagascar; which has conquered a continental empire for Christ in Australasia, making churches and conferences out of savages and cannibals; which has seen its promulgation crowned with wonderful success in India, in what Dr. Schlier calls "the Satansburgh of heathendom," and which Bishop Edward Thomson describes as "This great moral pest-house, this Babel of devils;" which has taught thousands of "heathen Chinee" to sing, with raptured lips, "All hail the power of Jesus' name!" which has its witnesses in all lands and in all tongues—will yet win its triumphs in all the dark domain of the False Prophet. The Cross shall be lifted higher than the Crescent; the sword shall be discarded as a weapon for the extension of the faith; the harem and the vision of a sensual heaven shall disappear; the *muezzin* who calls to prayer shall ask that it be offered in the name of Jesus; and Mohammedan mosques, like idolatrous temples, shall be converted into sanctuaries for the religion of the Christ.

The great cathedral of Damascus still stands, but the Christian church has been turned into a mosque. Over one magnificent portal the original inscription, written in Greek, still remains, unobliterated by time or hostile hands, and unheeded by the haughty ignorance of the Moslem. The saddened Christian is cheered as he reads the exhilarating and prophetic words, Ἡ βασιλεία σου, Χριστέ, βασιλεία πάντων τῶν αἰώνων—"Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom." It is the word of our God; and in beautiful Damascus—in profaned Jerusalem—in spoiled Alexandria—in Mecca, throne of the False Prophet—in Constantinople, so long trodden under foot by savage Turks—in Calcutta and Lahore—in Cabul and Candahar—in Asia, in Africa, and in all lands, the shout shall ring from earth to heaven, "Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting kingdom!"

The one unfailing key to history is in the avowed aim and object of our Lord and King to "set judgment in the earth."

This Messianic design, by peace or war, by the rise or fall of nations, will always be divinely promoted. The Prince of Judah will never turn from his great purpose to destroy idolatrous and despotic powers, to sweep away cruel superstitions and destructive infidelities, to lift up the under-foot humanity, to honor woman and to dignify childhood, to arch the sky of paganism with the rainbow of an immortal hope, to establish homes and schools and peaceful communities, to fill all lands with the splendors and glories of a Christian civilization, and to bring in and permanently establish the new earth and heaven. Neither Cossack nor Mussulman can stand athwart the prophetic purpose. Paganism will perish; empires, dynasties, and dominions of continental extent and colossal power will sink into decrepitude and death; but that which is for man, for his elevation and happiness, will survive every change, and will be crowned with ultimate success. This is the voice of all history; this is the gladdening truth now shining in the heavens; this is the Gospel assurance for the future of the race; and this will be the grand consummation of Messiah's glorious reign!

## Art. VI.—AUTHORSHIP OF ECCLESIASTES.

No book in the sacred Canon has been more variously interpreted than Ecclesiastes. One reason for this is the fact that commentators are so little agreed in regard to its authorship. There are two schools, namely: 1. The Solomonic, which claims that it is from the pen of Solomon; and 2. (that which for convenience' sake we may designate) The non-Solomonic; a term vague in itself, but which comprises all those who, though widely differing in their interpretation of the book, yet agree in rejecting the Solomonic authorship. Tradition from the earliest times ascribes Ecclesiastes to Solomon. For many centuries very few doubted the correctness of this view; nearly the whole Church acquiesced in it; and thus by common consent it was generally believed to have been written by the wise king. During the Middle Ages it would have been considered heretical to regard it as a book written after the

Solomonic period. But with the Reformation came a new era in Biblical criticism. Theology in all its branches began to be treated much as any other science, and questions which had been regarded as forever settled were again openly discussed, and not seldom did the critics arrive at conclusions widely at variance with the dogmas previously accepted. Some of these new ideas appeared like mist, only to be swept away before the brilliant rays of the rising sun; others proved more real and abiding; a few still remain open questions.

In order to form a correct idea of the subject, it will be necessary to make use of all the light which we may have from ancient as well as modern hermeneutics, and therefore it will be profitable for us to begin by inquiring into the opinions held by the ancient Jewish expositors.

These, almost without dissent, favor the Solomonic origin. The Targum of Koheleth, written, perhaps, in the sixth century A. D., adopts the Solomonic authorship. So also the Midrash, and indeed the great mass of all Jewish commentators down to the last century.* While a very few of the ancient rabbis object to the canonicity of Ecclesiastes, none object to its authorship. The statement in the Talmud (Baba Bathra, fol. 14, 15) that the college of Hezekiah wrote (כָּתְבוּ) the book, or that of Rabbi Gedaliah (Shalshel Hakkal, fol. 66) that it was written by Isaiah,† does not necessarily mean that Ecclesiastes was composed by the college of Hezekiah or by Isaiah, for the word כָּתַב, as a rule, signifies to copy. Nevertheless, we must not forget that objections to its inspiration and canonicity were not wanting from the earliest times. Its canonicity was discussed in the Synod of Jerusalem, about 65 A. D., and afterward, A. D. 90, at the Synod of Yabne. The discussion was carried on between the schools of Hillel and Shammai, the latter deciding against, and the former for, its canonicity. The school of Shammai opposed its canonicity on doctrinal grounds, claiming that Ecclesiastes contained passages which are mutually contradictory, therefore irreconcilable, and consequently uninspired. The parts of the book to which objections are urged are, chap. ii, 2; vii, 3; viii, 15. (Sabbath, 30$^b$; Megilla, 7a.) Not only did certain portions of the book contradict

* Plumptre: "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, p. 75.

† "Encyclopædia Britannica," art. "Ecclesiastes."

the others, but it was also at variance with Moses, therefore heretical. (Midrash Koheleth, under xi, 9.) The following are the two passages referred to: "Rejoice, O young man, in thy youth; and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth, and walk in the ways of thine heart, and in the sight of thine eyes," etc., (Eccles. xi, 9,) which, according to the rabbis, could not be reconciled with Num. xv, 39: "And it shall be unto you for a fringe, that ye may look upon it, and remember all the commandments of the Lord, and that ye seek not after your own heart and your own eyes." These objections may seem puerile to us, and the passages may not contain even an apparent contradiction. They are cited by us simply as historical facts, and must be taken for what they are worth.

Jerome writes, that the Jews of his time were not without their objections to this book. According to him, they say: "Among other writings of Solomon which have become antiquated, and the memory of them lost, this book deserves to be obliterated, because it asserts that all the creatures of God are vain, and regards them as nothing, and it gives the preference to eating and drinking and other transitory pleasures." *

Finally, it may be stated that the learned modern Jewish rabbis discard the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes. No learned rabbi of our time upholds it.

In passing from the Jews to the early Christians, we might call attention to the fact that Ecclesiastes is nowhere quoted in the New Testament. This might be explained as favoring the view that the canonicity of the book was an open question in the first century of our era; however, but little weight can be attached to this argument, for on the same grounds several other books would have to be rejected. The apostolic Fathers and their immediate successors are equally sparing in their references to Ecclesiastes.. Not till the end of the third century does the book seem to attract much attention. From this time on, the leading Fathers often mention the book, and some have left commentaries upon it. And, we may add, that with rare exceptions they are united in ascribing it to Solomon. Thus Gregory Thaumaturgus, (d. A. D. 270,) in his paraphrase of Koheleth; and Gregory of Nyssa, (d. A. D. 396,) in his expositions; Jerome (d. A. D. 420) and Augustine (d. A. D. 430.)

* Quoted by Stuart, "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, sec. 6, p. 102.

The same might be said of Olympiodorus, in the early part of the sixth century. Yet there were individuals in the primitive centuries who did not regard the book as divine, and of course as not coming from the pen of Solomon. Thus Philastrius of Brescia (d. A. D. 387) speaks of heretics who rejected Solomon's Ecclesiastes, (Haer., 130,)* and according to Stuart,† both Philastrius and Theodore of Mopsuestia (d. A. D. 429) considered the book as uninspired because it savors of Epicureanism. The question must have been openly discussed in the sixth century, for A. D. 553 the Synod of Constantinople declared the book free from the charge of teaching Epicureanism. But beyond these few objectors, the great mass of authority, both Jewish and Christian, declares most decidedly and unequivocally for the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes; and were we compelled to form a verdict from the testimony of early writers, nothing could be done but, as impartial judges, to declare that Solomon was the author of Ecclesiastes.

Uniform, however, as this *consensus* is, amounting almost to the "*Semper, ubique, et ab omnibus,*" which Vincent of Lerins made the test of Catholicity, it can scarcely be regarded as decisive. The faculty of historical criticism, and one might almost say, of intellectual discernment of the meaning and drift of a book or of individual passages in it, is, with rare exceptions, such as were Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Theodore of Mopsuestia, wanting in the long succession of the Christian Fathers, and no one can read the Targum or Midrash on Koheleth, or the comments of most of their successors, without feeling that he is in the company of those who have eyes and see not, and who seem to read between the lines, as patristic interpreters also do, meanings which could by no conceivable possibility have been present to the thoughts of the writer. It is true alike of all of them that they lived at too remote a date from that of the book of which they write for their opinions to have any weight as original evidence, and that they had no materials for forming such opinions other than those which are in our hand at the present day.‡

The Middle Ages, as might be expected, afford no new light on this question. The few writers who wrote on Koheleth merely walk in the footsteps of their predecessors. The three

* Hengstenberg, "Commentary," Introduction, p. 34.

† Stuart, Introduction, p. 103.

‡ Plumptre, "Cambridge Bible for Schools," Ecclesiastes, Introduction, p. 22.

leading commentators, Hugo of St. Victor in the twelfth century, Bonaventura in the thirteenth, and Nicolas de Lyra in the fourteenth, are firm in their declaration for Solomon.

With the great Reformation a new era came. Till then books were not studied in a critical spirit, philology and the philosophy of history were unknown sciences; so that the Dark Ages afforded no revelation in regard to our book is no cause of surprise. Ideas must not be rejected simply on account of their newness; much less, as is often the case by a certain class of reformers, on account of their great age. Neither are we under obligation to regard all questions as ultimately settled by our ancestors. If new light come, we should accept it and be thankful; if not, remain by the old. New discoveries are continually made, and no one deserves the name of teacher who is not willing to be surpassed by some brilliant disciple. It is needless to state that great revolutions have taken place since the Monk of Erfurt commenced to read and study the Holy Writ. It was reserved for Luther, who brought so much light into the religious and theological world, to call the attention of still more critical minds to some of the peculiarities of Ecclesiastes, and that, strange as it may seem, not in his commentary on Koheleth, where he accepts the Solomonic authorship, but in his "Table Talk," (Tisch-reden.)* He says: "Thus he" (Solomon) "did not himself write the Preacher, but it was composed by Sirach, at the time of the Maccabees. It is, however, a very good and agreeable book, because it contains much fine instruction in regard to the household. In addition, it is like a Talmud put together from many books, perhaps from the library of Ptolemy Euergetes, king of Egypt." Luther was not a commentator, but a reformer. We must, therefore, not be surprised that he does not more fully develop this new view.

So, in a sense, it is rightly claimed by most commentators that Hugo Grotius (1644) was the first to reject the Solomonic authorship, with any degree of reason and learning, upon purely scientific grounds. He was, as we see from the following, driven to it for philological reasons. "Yet," says he, "I do not consider it to be a work of Solomon, but to have been written later under the name of that king, who had been moved by penitence. My ground for this opinion is, that there are

* Lange's "Bibelwerk," ed. 1867, "Der Prediger Salomo," Einleitung, p. 110.

many words in it which are not found elsewhere other than in Daniel, Ezra, and the Chaldean commentators." From his time there has been a gradual departure from the traditional view. And indeed it was not long till some of the more distinguished biblical critics adopted and developed the views of Grotius. The book was studied as never before; the language was put to the severest critical tests. Some, in their eagerness to overthrow the Solomonic authorship, were too hasty, and cited a great number of words and phrases which, according to them, were not in use till after the captivity; but on closer examination many of these supposed post-exilian words were found in the pre-exilian books. Others, again, completely disregarding every philological argument, held most tenaciously to the tradition of the fathers. But ever since the days of Grotius the number of this latter class has decreased in proportion to their critical acumen and appreciation of the laws relating to the history of language; so that, in our day, the preponderance of authority rejects the Solomonic authorship. Says a recent English writer:* "On the Continent, where biblical criticism has been cultivated to the highest degree, and where Old Testament exegesis has become an exact science, the attempt to prove that Solomon is not the author of Ecclesiastes would be viewed in the same light as adducing facts to demonstrate that the earth does not stand still." This would not apply with equal force to England or the United States, though some of the more distinguished scholars in both these countries are not less decided in their rejection of the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes. The same may be said of the Protestant theologians of France, whose views are perhaps expressed by Louis Segond in Lichtenberger.†

Ewald,‡ in his day the prince of Hebrew scholars, than whom no one could have been found of greater authority in Semitic philology and literature in all its branches, is pronounced against the traditional view, and claims that the book is among the latest ones of the Old Testament. He bases his opinion on the peculiarities of language, ideas, and the relation of Ecclesiastes to the older books. He goes so far as to claim that it differs

* "Encylopædia Britannica," art. "Ecclesiastes."

† "Encyclo. des Sciences Religieuses," art. "Eccles."

‡ "Poetische Bücher," ed. 1837, vol. iv, p. 178.

more widely from the old Hebrew than any book in the Old Testament, and that it is a work of an author of whom we have nothing else in the Canon.

As far as we know, the first theologian in this country to accept the new criticism in regard to our book was the devout and erudite scholar, Prof. Moses Stuart, the father of biblical criticism in the United States. He discusses the question at great length in the learned introduction to his "Commentary on Ecclesiastes." * His influence as an exegete has been very great, and it naturally follows that he has many admirers and followers. Whatever else may be said, one thing is absolutely certain, that no American was more capable of expressing an opinion upon the subject under discussion than the late Prof. Stuart.

It may be very appropriate in this place to ascertain, if possible, what stand Methodist commentators have taken upon the question. We as a Church are indebted to no one man more than to Dr. Adam Clarke, who in his day was not only the foremost of Wesleyan expositors, but also held a high rank among the learned biblical scholars of England. Hence it is befitting that we should first hear him. In his introduction to the Book of Ecclesiastes he writes as follows:

> Of the authenticity of the Book of Ecclesiastes I have no doubt, but I must say, the language and style puzzle me not a little. *Chaldaisms and Syriaisms* are certainly frequent in it, and not a few *Chaldee words* and terminations; and the style is such as may be seen in those writers who lived at or after the Captivity. If these can be reconciled with the age of Solomon I have no objection; but the attempts that have been made to deny this, and overthrow the evidence, are in my view often trifling and generally ineffectual. That Solomon, son of David, might have been *author* of the *whole matter* of this, and a *subsequent writer* put it in his own language, is a possible case; and were this to be allowed, it would solve all difficulties. †

Dr. Harman is more decided and outspoken. These are his words: "We think there can be but little doubt that it is the latest book of the Canon, and could not have been written earlier than the time of Malachi; but in all probability it was written still later." ‡

* Stuart's "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, ed. 1864. Andover.

† Clarke's "Commentary," Introduction to Ecclesiastes.

‡ Harman's "Introduction," third edition, p. 318.

The next American commentator of our own Church who has written on this subject is the Rev. A. B. Hyde, D.D. I refer to his "Ecclesiastes" in Whedon's "Commentary." From the introduction it would be difficult to find out his exact position in regard to the authorship of the book. He says: "This question of authorship must not be made too important."* But as we shall have occasion to call up Dr. Hyde in another place we may for the present dismiss him.

It would be very unfair not to mention here an article written by my dear friend and old professor, Dr. Strong,† where the question of authorship is ably discussed; the author evidently leans to the Solomonic origin. Notwithstanding the above citations from Drs. Clarke, Harman, and Hyde, which in some sense of the word may be classed as our "standards" on Koheleth, yet the great majority of Methodist ministers, the world over, have accepted the old rabbinical tradition (Midrâsh Yalkut, Eccl. i, 1) that Koheleth was written by Solomon toward the latter part of his days, Proverbs in middle age, and Canticles in his youth. This, though nothing more than a tradition, is generally accepted by the ordinary readers of Ecclesiastes, just as many good but not liberally educated Christians ascribe all the Psalms to David and all the Book of Proverbs to Solomon. Needless is it to say that no careful student, even of our English version of the Bible, could entertain such views of the origin of the Psalms and Proverbs. Yet so carelessly do many of us study the sacred books, and such is the power tradition exercises over us, that we are often loth to part with our dearly cherished, child-like ideas. In passing we might mention the deplorable fact that the Bible is not more thoroughly studied—its history, its canonicity, its present form, etc., etc.

But to enter more fully into our discussion, it might be said that the objections of critics to the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes may be divided into two principal classes:

I. The Linguistic Peculiarities.

II. The Subject-matter.

I. Let us, in the first place, try to put before the reader the argument drawn from the philological stand-point. We

* Whedon's "Commentary," vol. vi, p. 484.

† M'Clintock and Strong, "Cyclopædia," art. "Ecclesiastes."

readily admit the recent origin of the argument drawn from this quarter; nevertheless, the newness of an argument is no valid objection against it. It could not be otherwise; for, be it remembered, that philology is comparatively a modern science. The evidence drawn from this source will appear of little or of great weight according to the linguistic training of the reader. To some who are altogether unacquainted with the Hebrew lexicon and grammar, and who depend entirely upon the English Bible, it will be, I am afraid, as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal, not because there is no reality in the argument, but because they have no suitable training to appreciate it.

Every language, no less than every nation, has its history, well-defined and more or less complete. New words and new forms are continually arising. How easy it is to trace many words back to their origin! The new edition of Webster's Dictionary has thousands of new words, and obsolete words are also very numerous. "One cometh and another passeth away," is the law written on all things. We need only call attention to our own language. Even the most careless cannot fail to see the difference between Wyclif and Wesley, between Chaucer and Shakespeare, or between Spenser and Tennyson. To a Hebrew scholar the variety of style and peculiarity of language is also very apparent in the different books of the Bible. This consideration justifies the conclusion that the Hebrew language has its history, capable, like all other studied languages, of being divided into periods. The most superficial student of Hebrew must admit that this language has at least two well-defined periods: the pre-exilian and the post-exilian. I am satisfied that the philological argument will have the least weight with those who have never studied our book in a critical manner. But whatever importance may be given to these verbal differences, they are certainly real, and must not be lightly passed over.

The style of Koheleth differs not only from the other acknowledged writings of Solomon, but from any thing else in the Old Testament, and for this the unique character of the subjects treated in the book will not sufficiently account. That portion of Proverbs written by Solomon is in fine, elegant, concise language, while Ecclesiastes for the most part is

full of repetition and irregularities. What is true of the style is in a greater degree true of the words and expressions used. Says the learned Hengstenberg: "Hand in hand with the evidence against Solomon, drawn from the historical circumstances of the work, goes that which is derived from peculiarities of style and language. These are undeniably not those of the time of Solomon, but of the later post-exile period." * Delitzsch, professor of Old Testament theology in the University of Leipsic, an Israelite by birth, a most ardent lover of Hebrew literature, both biblical and rabbinical, a most devout Christian, like Hengstenberg, quite orthodox, discussing this subject, says: "If the Book of Koheleth be of Solomonic origin, then there is no history to the Hebrew language."† It would be very easy to add the testimony of the leading biblical critics, but this will suffice to call the attention of the reader to the validity of the philological objections urged against the Solomonic origin.

It is common for writers on Ecclesiastes to give a list, more or less complete, of words and expressions in the book which they consider as being later than the Solomonic age. These words may be divided into three classes:

1. Those which are only found in the later books, as in Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, or Daniel.

2. Those which are not found in any other of the books of the Bible, but simply in rabbinical literature.

3. Those found only in Ecclesiastes.

The fullest list, as far as I have seen, is that given by Professor Delitzsch in his commentary.‡

All commentators in our day, of whatever school of thought, willingly acknowledge that the language of Ecclesiastes is not only peculiar, but that it more closely resembles that of the writers after than before the exile. The attempts to explain these away have been various—certainly more various than successful. One of the most commonly adopted explanations is that already referred to above; namely, that the book was written toward the close of Solomon's life. This to them sufficiently accounts for the difference of style between Eccle-

* "Commentary on Ecclesiastes," Introduction, p. 9. † *Ibid.*, p. 190.

‡ Introduction, pp. 190–196. See also the Introduction to Stuart and Lange's Commentaries, and the article on Ecclesiastes in M'Clintock and Strong's "Cyclopædia."

siastes and his other writings. But what is there, besides the old Jewish tradition, in support of the theory that Ecclesiastes is the latest production of Solomon's pen? Would it be any easier to establish this than to prove that the book in its present form is of post-exilian origin? We think not. Rev. W. T. Bullock, M.A., readily adopts the above view, and finds sufficient confirmation from other authors, both ancient and modern. Says he:* "In our own language the style of Milton in his 'Ode on the Nativity,' written in his twenty-first year, differs widely from 'Samson Agonistes,' a product of his old age. In our own generation, there is a remarkable difference between the earlier prose style of Dean Milman and that of his 'History of Latin Christianity.'"

Others, again, like Dr. Cowles,† dispose of Aramaisms and other linguistic peculiarities on the ground that Solomon had learned them from his intimacy with foreigners, "his wives and concubines, his political friends and his commercial acquaintances." They also adduce, as further explanation of these foreign terms, the supposition that the book was written especially for these foreigners; consequently, there could have been nothing more natural for Solomon than to use words and phrases which, though not pure Hebrew, yet were such as were perfectly familiar to those for whom the book was intended. This theory—for certainly it is nothing more—will not satisfy a critical mind. There is no evidence that the book was written for foreigners, for the outlandish women who flocked to the royal court at Jerusalem, or for the political allies of King Solomon. The sacred books of the Hebrews were not written for the heathen, but for the seed of Abraham. Dr. Tayler Lewis, though a stanch supporter of the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes, as may be seen in his appendix to the Introduction to Koheleth by Zöckler in Lange's "Commentary," is defending an almost hopeless cause. Read the following: "There may be allowed the idea of a later editor, or recensor, who may have added some of the short prose scholia by way of explanation, even as they were added to the Pentateuch—some few parenthetical insertions of the name Koheleth where it was deemed necessary more clearly to announce the speaker, and

* "Bible Commentary," Introduction to Ecclesiastes.

† "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, p. 220, ff.

perhaps some modernizations of the language, or the adaptation of it to a later period." * But where is the proof that the Jews thus tampered with their sacred books? The average reader will prefer to accept a later authorship, than a revised version of the original Solomonic work by a later hand.

Others claim that these verbal differences "ought to have but little weight in argument;" so little, indeed, "that small mention need be made of them." Dr. Hyde † limits these words to about ten, although Delitzsch, who wrote as late as 1875, finds more than ten times ten words or forms in some way peculiar to the book under consideration. But what if the number could be reduced to ten? If it can be proved that we have here ten words of later origin than Solomon's time, would not that suffice to disprove the Solomonic origin? Would a student of English in a thousand years from now hesitate to declare that a book containing any two of the following words, "gerrymander, bulldoze, telephone, class-meeting, cablegram, telegram, loot, or dude, could not have been written as early as the sixteenth century?" A skillful anatomist can tell by the careful examination of a single bone the kind, and as well the approximate size, of the animal. So also in philology. The age of a book is determined by the words and expressions used. Even one word has sometimes sufficed to explode great literary forgeries. Let one instance be given: "Some years ago a set of poems was published at Bristol purporting to have been written in very early times by a poet named Rowley. Literary controversy ran high about them; many persons believed in their genuineness; some do, even now. But the imposture, which was not easy to detect at the time, has been completely unmasked by the aid of a little word of three letters. The writer uses 'its' as the possessive case of the pronoun 'it' of the neuter gender. Now, this possessive 'its' was never so used in the early periods of our language; nor, indeed, as late down as the time of Elizabeth. It never occurs in the English version of the Bible, made in its present authorized form in the reign of James I. It is said, also, to occur only three times in Shakespeare, and once in 'Paradise Lost.' ‡

* Lange's "Commentary," Appendix to Introduction, p. 29.

† Whedon's "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, p. 482.

‡ Alford's "Queen's English," p. 7.

Besides these words, there is another point especially worthy of mention, though not urged as conclusive; that is, the very frequent use of the shortened form of the relative pronoun, (שֶׁ instead of אֲשֶׁר.) This shorter form, it is true, is occasionally used in the earlier books of the Bible, and also in the Phenician remains; but in the later books, as well as in the later Psalms, this form is very common. In Ecclesiastes it is found no less than sixty-eight times. The Talmud and other rabbinical writings, as well as modern Hebrew, use the shorter form almost exclusively. Again, in no other book of the Bible are the meanings given to this word in its various combinations so various as in Ecclesiastes.

There is also a difference in the use of the tenses, which students in their second year cannot fail to observe. The "*vav conversive*" is seldom used, and there is a noticeable preference given to the participial form of the verb.

Again, the author of Ecclesiastes, in speaking of the Divine Being, never uses the word "*Jehovah*," but always (thirty-nine times) Elohim. This is certainly a remarkable fact, and is regarded as of some weight in determining the authorship of the book. It is said that in the post-biblical period, the Jews, being restrained by a religious dread, scarcely ever used the word Jehovah. The use of Elohim does not necessarily point out a later age, but it certainly points out a difference of style, for in the Proverbs Solomon uses almost exclusively the word Jehovah; but why Solomon should use Jehovah so often in Proverbs, and abstain most carefully from its use in Koheleth, is not clear.

II. Objections based on other than linguistic grounds, that is, on the subject-matter, or the contents of the book.

Although objections to the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes were first based on purely philological grounds, yet in the course of time others of an entirely different nature were added to them. It could not be otherwise. The study of literature and history has been reduced and developed into an exact science. The literature of a people bears the impress of the age in which it was written. Not only do we find philological differences, but also difference in style, matter, and treatment. The influence may be political, religious, or philosophical. Says a modern writer: "The political influences

which act in the development and modification of literature are many and potent; and these, unlike the influence of race, differ more or less in every age. Their effect may, as a rule, be traced with the greatest facility; and the writers on whom they have produced no marked impressions are few indeed. Perhaps the most powerful influence of all is that exerted by the form of government, which results in material prosperity or social degradation. Unjust rule in France has produced greater popular misery than in any other country in Europe. As a consequence we find their literature studded over with the traces of this external suffering, and with the marks of a spirit of fiery impatience and revolt." *

In a critical examination of Ecclesiastes it becomes evident that many things discussed in the book do not well suit the Solomonic era, and that many others could have scarcely come from the pen of the royal writer himself. A king would be the last to write such a book as we have before us.

The first objection under this head to which I wish to call attention is, the constant reference to tyranny and oppressive government. It runs like a stream from one end of the book to the other. Governors and rulers of all grades ruthlessly trample under foot the dearest and most sacred rights. So great were these oppressions that, according to our author, death itself would be a release. It would not be an easy task to prove that such passages as are found here could have been written during one of the most peaceful and prosperous reigns of any of the Jewish kings. Whatever faults King Solomon may have had, the sacred chroniclers do not bring his tyranny, or that of his officers, into any such prominence as would warrant the bitter wailing of the author of Ecclesiastes. Take the following examples: "I saw under the sun the place of judgment, *that* wickedness *was* there; and the place of righteousness, *that* iniquity *was* there:" (iii, 16.) "So I returned, and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of *such as were* oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of their oppressors *there was* power; but they had no comforter:" (iv, 1.) The repetition of the last clause makes it very emphatic in Hebrew. So glaring was the injustice, and so violent the oppression, practiced in

* Van Laun, "History of French Literature," vol. i, p. 10.

the land during the time of the author, that he concludes that death is preferable to life. "Wherefore," continues he, "I praised the dead which are already dead, more than the living which are yet alive. Yea, better is he than both they, which hath not yet been, who hath not seen the evil work that is done under the sun," (iv, 2, 3.) It would be easy to multiply passages which seem very difficult to reconcile with the history of the reign of Solomon. They seem to be anachronistic, utterly inexplicable. "Folly is set in great dignity, and the rich sit in low places." "I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth:" (x, 6, 7.) "Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child, and thy princes eat in the morning:" (x, 16.) On the other hand, when we compare the sentiments expressed in these verses to later times, when the poor Jews were oppressed by foreign officials, and when extortion and plunder was the order of the day, how like real history is our book! (Compare Esther iii, 1; Neh. ix, 36, 37.) The remarkable passage near the close of the book (x, 20) seems also to point most clearly to other times than those of Solomon. The author says: "Curse not the king, no, not in thy thought; and curse not the rich in thy bedchamber: for a bird of the air shall carry the voice, and that which hath wings shall tell the matter." The reference here is, beyond doubt, to the well-established system of espionage, which in ancient times stretched itself like a network over the empires of despotic kings. Espionage is always the index of a mean, corrupt, tyrannical, and pusillanimous despot, but never of a noble man. What is there in the history of Solomon corresponding of the sentiment expressed in this verse? Our latest Methodist commentator, Dr. Hyde, finds but little difficulty in reconciling the linguistic peculiarities of Ecclesiastes with the idea that it was written by Solomon; yet he fairly stumbles when he comes to the exposition of this passage. Listen to him: "As the general subject of discreet behavior in the trying times produced by bad rulers occupies so large a proportion of this brief book, we may, on dismissing it, again say that its moral weight as against the Solomonic authorship is very serious. The books of the Scripture, though written for all time, get their special form and matter from and for some particular time. So much of exhortation to patient

endurance under misgovernment could not possibly have been inspired by any thing known to have existed in the golden age of Solomon. But there was hardly a year in the interval between 450 B. C. and 330 B. C. when such wisdom of the serpent and harmlessness of the dove was not wanted in almost every province of the Persian empire." *

Let us next call attention to the skeptical questions discussed in the book. This ought to afford some help in determining the age in which it was written. In whatever light we regard these, or try to explain them, they are here. We may regard portions of this book as a dialogue between the author and some skeptical objector, or they may be the struggling of a soul for light, a mere mental dialogue, a style common to all languages.

If, then, it is true that we have in this book traces of skepticism, as already said, this ought to aid us in determining its age. Every age has its special topics. Authors write upon subjects claiming common attention, upon themes which are part and parcel of the every-day life of a people. It would not be natural in our day and country to devote great attention to evils and dangers which in no way threaten us. A treatise on the evils of American slavery, for instance, written in 1884, would be anachronistic and unnecessary; but fifty years ago nothing would have been more proper and timely. Slavery has been abolished, and now other topics claim our attention. The age of Solomon was eminently religious; divine manifestations were not infrequent; it was then that the temple was built, and that the religion of Jehovah pervaded the land. Solomon might have been guilty of idolatry, but where is the proof that he or any other leader of thought in his time was troubled with questions which in later ages developed into Sadduceeism? In reading the history of doctrine in the Christian Church we see that certain questions had special prominence in certain centuries: Gnosticism, in one age; Arianism, in another; and Pelagianism, in a third. So also in the Old Testament, in the ancient Jewish Church, there must have been something similar. The age of Solomon, as far as we have any means of judging, was not a skeptical one; therefore we are not prepared to admit that a book containing so many

* Whedon's "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, chap. x, 20.

questions respecting doubts of future life and God's moral government in this world could belong to his time. The question, "Who knoweth whether * the spirit of the sons of men goeth upward, and whether the spirit of a beast goeth downward to the earth?" (iii, 21,) although satisfactorily and in a most orthodox manner answered in xii, 7, suits the post-exilian time much better than that of Solomon—a time when the ancient landmarks were giving way, when even the seed of Abraham were becoming rationalistic and skeptical.

Attention might be called to the fact that Malachi, which is considered the last book of the Canon, has in this and also other respects some similarity to Koheleth. The laxity described in regard to paying vows (v, 4, 5) which had been made, finds an exact counterpart in the description of the Church given by the prophet Malachi, but not in the time of Solomon, when the people manifested such love and generosity for the worship of Jehovah. The word מַלְאָךְ, *angel*, which evidently refers to the officiating priest who was to receive the offering which was vowed, is also found in Malachi ii, 7. Another point which ought not to be passed unnoticed is the fact, that this book, which is so generally ascribed to Solomon, does not even contain his name. The proper name of the author, whoever he may have been, is not given. In this particular it resembles the Epistle to the Hebrews. The author for some reason takes the assumed name *Koheleth*, which is variously translated, but which is well expressed by our English word *Preacher*. At first sight this may seem of little or of no importance; nevertheless, there must have been some reason for this fictitious name. We readily admit that there is passage after passage wherein the author describes himself, exactly such as Solomon would have written. Some passages seem to point to him directly and cannot bear any other interpretation; for example, He was son of David, king over Israel in Jerusalem: (i, 1, 12.) He made himself great works, builded himself houses, gathered himself silver and gold. He was great and increased more than all that were before him in Jerusalem, etc., etc.: (ii, 4–10.) We do not shut our eyes to

* I take the ה before עלה and ירדת to be the He interrogative, and not the article. So the LXX, Vulgate, Targum, Syriac, Arabic, Jerome, Luther, Stuart, Delitzsch, etc.

these passages, so strongly favoring the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes. Yet further on we propose a word of explanation. But, notwithstanding these, we might ask the question, If Solomon wrote this book, why did he write under the assumed title of Koheleth? Why in this book more than in Proverbs or Canticles?* In vain would it be to reply, as some have done, that he represents himself in our book not as a king but as a preacher, for that would apply equally well to the Proverbs. But before we dismiss this subject, let us call attention to the form of the word קֹהֶלֶת, (Koheleth.) Though feminine in form, it doubtless refers to a male. Men are often designated by the name (which may be feminine) of the office which they hold. We have examples of this usage not only in the Semitic or Oriental languages, but also in some of the Indo-European, as in German and French.† We often find it in Chaldee and Arabic, and it was not unusual in later Hebrew to designate men by the office which they held, or by their trade. Take the feminine word פָּחָה, (pascha,) a word, according to Fürst,‡ which was transplanted into Hebrew by early Assyrian influence, and which stands in the later written books. Compare also the forms Sophereth (Ezra ii, 55, Neh. vii, 57) and Pochereth, (Ezra ii, 57, Neh. vii, 59,) which show that such formations were in use in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. This usage of coining feminine nouns for the name of men is carried still further in the Mischna.§ Thus we see that the very title of the book speaks loudly in favor of a post-exilian origin.

In discussing the authorship of Ecclesiastes, commentators always call attention to the verb הָיִיתִי: (i, 12.) It is the preterit form.‖ "I, Koheleth, *was* king over Israel in Jerusalem." The preterit tense in this verse, and the *vav* conversive with the future in the following, point to time already past. At least that is the common way in which these forms are used. If the writer had wished to refer to the present, he could have either used the participial form or else omitted the verb altogether. Thus, then, we are at once necessitated to

* See Prov. i, 1; Solomon's Song i, 1.

† Stuart's "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, chap. i, 1.

‡ "Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon," פחה.

§ See various examples in Delitzsch's "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, p. 204.

‖ For an able discussion, see Delitzsch's "Commentary," pp. 205, ff.

suppose that at the writing of this book Solomon had ceased to be king, had abdicated. And that is the way the ancient Jewish commentators understood and explained the passage. In the Targum or paraphrase of Koheleth we have the following comment on the verse, (i, 12:) "When king Solomon was sitting upon the throne of his kingdom, his heart became very proud of his riches, and he transgressed the word of God, and he gathered many horses and chariots, and riders, and he amassed much gold and silver, and he married from foreign nations; whereupon the anger of the Lord was kindled against him, and he sent to him Ashmodai, the king of the demons, who drove him from the throne of his kingdom, and took away the ring from his hand in order that he should wander about the world to reprove it, and he went about in the provincial towns and cities of the land of Israel, weeping and lamenting, and saying, *I am Koheleth, whose* name *was* formerly *called Solomon*, who *was* king over Israel in Jerusalem." This legend, childish as it is, proves one thing most conclusively, namely, that the preterit form of the verb was a real stumbling block to the ancient expositors, who invented it. The most eminent Hebrew scholars, such as Stuart, Ewald, and Delitzsch, agree that it must refer to a past time. Mr. Bullock, in his comment on this verse, finds a parallel case in Louis XIV.,* who, toward the end of his days, gave up all earthly interests in order to think only of God, and who at that time was often heard to exclaim, "When I was king!" This needs no refutation, for there is a great difference between a whole book well written and the mere exclamation of an old ruler ready to die.

Those who accept the traditional view often claim that Ecclesiastes is a book containing the confession of King Solomon. To them it is a satisfactory evidence that the wise king, toward the close of life, "repented of his unholy practices and licentious principles."† It is needless to inform the reader that there is not a single word in the Holy Writ to corroborate this view, so commonly held. We have not a single sentence pointing to the repentance of Solomon. Said a learned man

* "Nouvelle Biographie Generale," xxxi, 834, quoted by Bullock, "Commentary" on Ecclesiastes, p. 623.

† Angus, "Bible Hand-book," p. 512.

to me a few days ago: "Brother, deny the Solomonic origin of Ecclesiastes, and Solomon is lost." But, were it well established that Solomon wrote this book, what is there to show that he wrote it in his old age, after he had sinned and lost the favor of God? Nothing more than an old rabbinical tradition. But had we proof conclusive—which we are far from admitting—that he is the author, there is absolutely nothing in the book to prove that he repented. None but a prejudiced mind can see confession in any portion of it. It is rather the work of an experimenter who becomes utterly disgusted with the world and its vanities, than the sincere confession of one who had sinned against God. If it were a confession, we might expect some explicit reference to some former sins by which the author had been led away from Jehovah, something similar to the fifty-first Psalm. But there is nothing of that in the book before us. Ecclesiastes is certainly more of a philosophical treatise than the humble confession of a penitent sinner. Had we a confession from the royal ruler, we might find some similarity between it and the beautiful prayer uttered by him at the dedication of the temple. If Koheleth be the confession of Solomon, the confession has been omitted, and some valuable exhortation has been substituted. Now, what were the chief sins of Solomon? They were, (1) alliance with the heathen; (2) loving many strange women; and (3) turning away his heart after other gods. 1 Kings xi, 1–8. These three sins were to the pious Jews of the most grievous kind, and they are constantly condemned by the prophets. In the Old Testament no sin is denounced so much and so often as that of idolatry. It seems to be the sad key-note of the earlier prophets. Then, if idolatry were the chief sin of Solomon, and were such an eye-sore to the pious Jew, why is there not some mention made of it in our book? Not only is there no command to abstain from it, nor any thing like the sad strains of a penitent confessing his participation therein—there is not even any reference to it in any way whatever. The same may be said in regard to the other two sins above mentioned. We, then, confess our inability to see any thing in Ecclesiastes resembling a confession. Let those, then, who have been accustomed to regard this book as proving the final repentance of Solomon remember that there are some valid objections against

their theory. Let them not be too loud in condemnation of our views; for what they themselves regard as settled truths may become on more careful examination at best but hypotheses. If Solomon did repent, there is no record of it in Ecclesiastes. The book could not have been written in his old age, else some reference to idolatry and the evils of polygamy would have been made. If he did not write it in the latter part of his life, then the most ancient tradition ascribing its authorship to Solomon becomes worthless, and certainly leaves grounds for other views.

One more objection of some weight is, the fact that no mention is made of this most important book in 1 Kings iv, 32, 33, where a list of Solomon's works is given.

Perhaps none of these arguments, taken singly and alone, will appear of much weight; but certainly, when brought together, and viewed in one connected chain, our position in regard to the authorship of Ecclesiastes is any thing but weak.

As already stated, there are certain passages in the book which clearly point to Solomon as the author; this explains why supporters of the Solomonic origin have been so many and so positive. But in conclusion let me ask, What objection can there be to believe that the author, whoever he may have been, adopted a personated authorship? That he makes Solomon the main character in the book, and through him utters his own words and ideas? The same as Socrates in the Krito of Plato, or Faust in the masterpiece of Goethe, or other characters in the fictitious and dramatic works of both ancient and modern writers. This is done in compositions of this sort without any idea of deception or imposture. "A dramatic personation of character has, at all times, been looked upon as a legitimate form of authorship, not necessarily involving any *animus decipiendi*. . . . If dramatic personation be, in all times and countries, a legitimate method of instruction, there is no *a priori* ground against the employment of that method by the manifold and very varied wisdom (Eph. iii, 10) of the Eternal Spirit." If this view of personated authorship is admissible and compatible with inspiration, then it is morally certain that Solomon did not write Ecclesiastes.

## Art. VII.—WILLIAMS'S "MIDDLE KINGDOM."

Of this well-known work on China, issued by Putnam in 1848, revised by the author, and re-issued by the Scribners in 1883, the reading public will require something more than a passing notice editorial. The recent demise of the writer makes it appropriate to preface a review of his book with brief notices of his life and labors. This most distinguished lay missionary of the century, late professor of Chinese in Yale College, passed to his final rest on Saturday, February 16, at 8:40 P. M. in the City of Elms, full of years, honors, and usefulness. It is seldom that any man is privileged to bring his life-labors to a rounded close. Most men are surprised by the last summons with some unfinished piece of work in hand. Six years ago, February 6, 1878, Dr. Williams said, in a note to the writer: "I am using my imperfect eye-sight to revise 'The Middle Kingdom.' This job of work seems to be about as useful as any I can undertake." Here we have the key to his every undertaking. During fifty years of active life he had always some "job of work" on hand that looked toward the "useful." Inutility was incompatible with his earnest nature. A severe fall, a dislocated shoulder, and paralysis came as premonitory warnings. April 16, 1883, he writes again: "In March last year I had a partial paralysis of brain, from which I am slowly recovering. My son has revised the copy of 'The Middle Kingdom,' which, fortunately, was almost ready for the press. I have no expectation of doing any thing more after the book is out." It was his last work. The last touch was given to the preface in July. It was on the book-sellers' shelves in October, and at the time of the brief notice of it in the January "Quarterly" the venerable writer was in his final decline.

Two of the numerous pen-works of this diligent book-maker are specially monumental, and will long remain as proofs of native and acquired ability combined with rare opportunities. They are "The Middle Kingdom," and an "Anglo-Chinese Dictionary:" the one a wide survey of the Chinese Empire from the earliest times to the present, for the English reader; the other a much-needed help to the increasing number of students

of the Chinese language. How came he by the ability to prepare works so widely differing? Something may have been due to the fact that he belonged to one of the most prolific of the book-making tribes of the English race. Aside from the omnipresent and scarcely numerable Smiths, the Williamses are only second or third in the numbers sent by any one of the Anglo-Saxon *gens* into the fields of literature and authorship. For personal qualifications he was indebted to fortunate birth, solid education, and favorable surroundings. His father, William Williams, was a prominent citizen of Utica, engaged in the book and publishing business in one of the largest establishments west of Albany, a leading man in all benevolent enterprises, and an elder in the First Presbyterian Church. His eldest son, Samuel Wells, (S. Wells he always wrote it, after the family name of his mother, Sophia Wells,) was born in Utica, September 22, 1812. The pious and devoted mother silently dedicated her first-born to the cause of foreign missions. For the reason we have not far to seek. Carey, Ward, and Marshman, pioneers in India, had been heard of in the religious journals of America; Morrison had sailed for China from England by the way of New York, because the jealous East India Company refused him passage in their ships. The quintet of devoted Andover students,* graduates of Harvard, Williams, Brown, and Union respectively, had created a Board of Foreign Missions by their enthusiasm, and in February, 1812, with a quintet of brave wives, had stirred the soul of the American Church to its holiest depths by embarking, in the slow-sailing ships of the period, for an India that seemed as far off and shadowy as it had done to the mariners of Columbus three hundred and twenty years before.

Brought up in the purlieus of a printing-office, what more natural than that Wells should be a printer, familiar from boyhood with all the mysteries of type-setting and all the details of book publishing. All his works show the results of this initial training. Rudimentary studies were pursued in academy and high school. To his pious parents the cause of missions was particularly dear, and their children were reared to love and respect the work. In 1820, when Wells was eight years old, a young man, James Garrett, connected with his father's

*Newell, Hall, Rice, Judson, Nott.

printing-office, was sent to Ceylon as missionary printer, an event which made a deep and lasting impression on his child-mind. Converted and brought into the Church in 1831, his father was disposed to send him to college, but inclination for the natural sciences decided him to go to the Rensselaer Institute, Troy, under the care of the distinguished scientific specialist Amos Eaton, for whose botanical manual, published in 1833, young Williams wrote out the derivations. In April, 1832, he received an invitation to go to China as printer to the American Board Mission, deliberated on it for a single night, and accepted; spent a year at home in study and mechanical preparation, and in mid-June, 1833, sailed from New York in the ship "Morrison," reaching Whampoa, the anchorage-ground for the city of Canton, on the 25th of October following. In his passage up the Pearl River, ten or twelve miles, he took his first lessons in a language that was to become as familiar to him as his native tongue, lessons given gratis by the brawling, shouting, yelling, swearing boatmen, as he threaded his way through the crowded fleets of lorchas, lighters, junks, flower-boats, police boats, and sampans that make up the noisy babel so delightful to ears Oriental. Thus, at the first blush of dawning manhood, Wells Williams took his station on the remotest frontier of the foreign field, the most unpromising in the wide world, a simple printer, without collegiate, theological, or medical education, to become, through his own industry, the eminent "self-educated" author of works that should enlighten the Christian world and smooth the pathway of the hundreds who should come after.

At his advent all things were as they had been for a century. China was a sealed country. The three immortal pioneer missionaries, Messrs. Morrison, (1807,) Milne, (1813,) Medhurst, (1817,) and a score of successors, unable to penetrate the barrier, had expended their forces on the emigrant overflow of the Malayan Archipelago. The first American in the field, Elijah C. Bridgman, (1830,) could do no more at Canton than Morrison, the first Englishman, had done twenty-three years before. He could neither teach nor preach. He could only, in a sort of stealthy way, print books for circulation. In 1832 New York sent him a press, and in 1833 an enthusiastic young printer, well versed in his art. Missionary effort of every kind was

opposed and restrained by three hostile forces, the native authorities, the narrow East India Company, and the Romish priests at Portuguese Macao. In 1834 the monopolizing Company was dissolved, and the great and good Dr. Morrison died. At that time Bridgman and Williams were the only missionaries left on Chinese soil. The Chinese Christian Church had, as yet, no being. Books, teachers, translations, and the printing-office were the only resort of this brace of lonely workers. To these they were shut up, and, of these, during the ten years that intervened before the opening of the treaty ports, they made diligent use. With his new printing-press, in 1832, the indefatigable Bridgman began a monthly called the "Chinese Repository," of which he and Williams were co-editors till its winding up with the twentieth volume in 1851. In 1835–36, Williams spent seventeen months at Macao, completing Medhurst's Hak-ke-en Dictionary, his first, but by no means his last, work in the lexicon line. As a pleasant change to four years of solitary routine he was invited, in 1837, to go in the American ship "Morrison"—the property of the benevolent patrons of missions, Messrs. Olyphant & Co.—to the Loo Choo Islands and Japan, to return some shipwrecked natives to their own country. The expedition was unsuccessful. Its benevolent mission was neither understood nor appreciated. The jealous natives fired upon the vessel at each of the four ports she attempted to enter. After an absence of ten months the ship returned, and the wrecked sailors were put to work, for their own support, in the printing-office of the mission. The ever-active mind of Williams seized the opportunity to learn their language, and between 1839 and 1841 he made, by their aid, an imperfect translation of Genesis and Matthew into Japanese. Between 1837 and 1844 he completed a useful manual, "Easy Lessons in Chinese," for beginners; assisted Bridgman in the preparation of his "Chrestomathy," another useful hand-book for beginners; edited the second edition of the younger Morrison's "Commercial Guide," an invaluable repertory of facts for merchants and ship-masters, and published a vocabulary in English and Chinese, which the writer found exceedingly helpful, notwithstanding its provincial syllabary, —that of the Canton dialect.

Mr. Williams was, of course, at the very center of the opium

conflict between the English and Chinese, from the stoppage of the trade on account of the pernicious drug in 1834, to the first conquest of the latter by the former in 1842; chronicled all the events of the war—1841-2—and preserved all its important papers and dispatches, both in English and Chinese, in the columns of the "Repository." In 1844, when a new order of things had been established, when Portuguese Macao had been substituted by British Hong-Kong, and when missionaries had begun to flow freely into each of the newly opened ports, Mr. Williams accepted an invitation, tendered him by the patron to whom he had dedicated his book, Gideon Nye, Jr., to make an overland passage, by way of Egypt, Palestine, and Europe, to his native land. After an interesting visit to the Holy Land, the Nile, Italy, and Paris, (where he purchased many useful works on China,) he sailed from England to the United States, arriving in New York, October, 1845. At that period great interest had been aroused by the recent wars in China, of which he availed himself by delivering a course of lectures on China, the proceeds of which were devoted to the purchase of a font of Chinese metallic type cast for the mission in Berlin, Germany. These lectures grew to volumes, and at the suggestion of friends, and by their munificent aid, he wrote out and published the first edition of "The Middle Kingdom." (New York, 1848.)

On November 27, 1847, at the mature age of thirty-five, Mr. Williams married, at Plattsburg, the eldest daughter of John Walworth, brother of Chancellor Reuben H. Walworth, by whose nomination the author of "The Middle Kingdom" was made honorary Doctor of Laws by Union College in 1848. They sailed for China on June 1, 1848, and arrived in Canton in September following. In 1851 he brought back the printing-office to Canton, wound up the "Repository," and commenced the publication of his "Tonic Dictionary of the Canton Dialect," the product of eight years' labor, a manual which the writer of this article found very useful, though hampered by a syllabic dress foreign to the Foochow dialect.

In 1853, he was invited to accompany as interpreter Commodore Perry in his expedition to open Japan, returning in August, 1854, to carry his Dictionary through the press and publish a fourth edition of the "Commercial Guide," a manual

which has reached a sixth edition, and is still of inestimable value.

In September, 1855, after twenty-two years' connection with the missionary work, Dr. Williams followed the example of Morrison and Gützlaff, and accepted a secular position, that of secretary and interpreter to the American Legation in China, an office which he held for the next twenty-one years—years the most eventful of any in the history of the Chinese Empire. During his official relation he twice visited the United States, in 1860 and 1875. Unable to be quiet, in the intervals of official duty he compiled, in eleven years, an "Anglo-Chinese Dictionary," published in 1874. In 1876, after a residence of forty-three years in China, he resigned and returned to his native land, to accept the professorship of Chinese in Yale in 1877, and to be made President of the American Bible Society in 1882—a merited compliment to one who had done so much for the circulation of the Scriptures in heathen lands.

## "The Middle Kingdom."

To the preparation of his survey of China, its social life and institutions, Mr. Williams brought twelve years of study and intercourse with the Chinese on their own soil; to the revisal he brought the accumulated material of over forty years' intimate acquaintance with the empire from Hong-Kong to the Great Wall. Without the power of judicious discrimination and selection, profusion of knowledge may be a hinderance rather than a help to a writer. Doolittle's "China" is tediously inventorial in its minuteness. Ten years of itemized experiences of his residence at Foochow were far less interesting to the general reader than a rapid twenty-page sketch of a few weeks' visit to Pekin. Nevertheless, his information, "detailed and reliable," had the advantage that a local history has over a general account, which is apt to become vague and barren as it grows in extent and volume. Dr. Williams deprecates the necessity of condensing so much into such confined space, and says, "Future writers will, I am convinced, after the manner of Richtofen, Yule, Legge, and others, confine themselves to single or cognate subjects rather than attempt such a comprehensive synopsis as is here presented." Edkins says truly, in the introduction to his "Religion in China," "There

have been many books written in that country with a chapter on each thing. It is this that renders them unsatisfactory to those who seek information on some particular subject." Shoals of works of the "My First Impressions" and "What I Saw" order have appeared during the century from the *attachés* of embassies, consular officials, army officers, transient travelers, who wrote up China from what they "saw" in a cart-ride from Tientsin to Pekin, a boat-trip on the Woo-Sung at Shanghai, a ride in a sedan-chair through the streets of Foochow, or a week or two among the merchants at Canton or Hong-Kong.

Doolittle alludes to a common vice of writers, that of generalizing from particulars; inferring the character of a whole people from that of special localities; affirming in general terms of the Chinese, as a nation, what is true only of the people in the part of the country where the writer made his observation: as if one were to describe as general and European every thing he saw in Italy, when he had seen no other nation of that continent but the Italian. Until within the last forty years the only point of contact with the nation was Canton, and that on the verge of the river-bank outside of the city. The Cantonese differ from the Fo-Kienese and Pekinese, in language and local customs, as much as Italians differ from Spanish, or French from Spanish and Portuguese.

Book-knowledge of the Celestial Empire has steadily drifted westward from the days of Marco Polo, Sir John Mandeville, and the Jesuit fathers. Native authors are as voluminous as the German to those who can read them. The resources of the author of "The Middle Kingdom" were ample, and increased a hundred-fold after the opening of the empire, and especially by residence at the capital. The only adverse criticism we recollect to have seen was that of the "London Athenæum," in 1848: "These volumes have little that is novel in them"—a backhanded compliment to the wider knowledge of the self-complacent critic, who is nothing if he cannot claim superiority in the line of the work he reviews. It has been the pleasant occupation of some idle hours to compare the revised and original editions of this work of Dr. Williams. The two lie on different sides of the dividing zone between the old order of things and the new. The events of a generation have sufficed to antiquate the original edition of "The Middle

Kingdom," and to make it read like a Staunton and Barrow commemoration of the M'Cartney expedition of the last century.

In 1833, with no hint of Professor Maury, the "Morrison" rolled leisurely over the seas with the average speed of a canal boat, five miles an hour, making the voyage from New York to Canton in a hundred and thirty-two days. Quarter of a century later, Liverpool clippers, formed for swiftness and schooled by wind and current charts and sailing directions, bowled over oceans at the rate of five leagues per hour, to and from the Australian gold fields. Each was a type of its own times, one related to the loitering stage-coach, the other to the lightning express.

In 1844, Williams coasted along Southern Asia to Bombay in a sailing vessel. The magnificent line of the Peninsular and Oriental steamers was not yet. In 1848, our ocean navigation, telegraphy, and photography were in their infancy. Most of the social events that have re-created America, remolded the policies and theologies of every European State, sent gleams of light athwart Africa from Cape Colony and the Congo to the desert and pyramids, that have stirred Asia out of the lethargy of ages from the Levant to the Yellow Sea, and forced the unwilling millions of India, China, and Japan into the mighty march of modern thought and progress, have happened since the first volume of "The Middle Kingdom" was given to the world. It was needful that the revise should reflect all these wonderful changes.

The opening chapters, on the geography of the empire, needed little alteration. The physical features and civil boundaries of the land remain much as they were when the Jesuits made their ten years' survey (1708 to 1718) and presented their completed map to the emperor. For coast surveys the Chinese are indebted to foreign hydrographers, chiefly to Horsburgh, in the employ of the East India Company at the commencement of the century, and later, to Captain Collinson, of the Royal Navy of Great Britain. Heathenism erects no light-houses, and the eastern seas have been largely charted by the wrecks that have become at once expensive and mournful beacons of concealed coral ledges. In 1848, Williams's description of that wonder of the world, the Great Wall, north of Pekin, was written from books and hearsay. In the revised

edition he describes from what he has seen. On page 30, vol. i, we read:

The impression left upon the mind of the foreigner on seeing this monument of human toil and unremunerative outlay is respect for a people that could in any manner build it. Standing on the peak at Old North Gate, one sees the cloud-capped towers extending away over the declivities in single file both east and west, until dwarfed by miles and miles of skyward perspective as they dwindle into minute piles, yet stand with solemn stillness where they were stationed twenty centuries ago, as though condemned to wait the march of time till their builders returned. The crumbling dike at their feet may be followed, winding, leaping across gorges, defiles, and steeps, now buried in some chasm, now scaling the cliffs and slopes, in very exuberance of power and wantonness, as it vanishes in a thin shadowy line at the horizon. Once seen, the Great Wall of China can never be forgotten.

The full description of the capital, Pekin, is enlarged from fifteen pages to twenty-two, many passages entirely re-written, others inserted, and the whole enriched by the addition of two fine engravings—a Lamaistic monument, and one of the gates of the city surmounted by frowning watch-towers. The notice of the emperor's beautiful Summer Palace is supplemented with the remark, "But all this was swept away by the British and French troops in 1860, and the ruins still remain to irritate the officials and people of Pekin against all foreigners."

The description of the celebrated porcelain tower of Nankin, which the Tai-pings blew up and razed to the ground in 1856, is re-written, partly omitted and substituted by the account given by Dr. Charles Taylor, an American missionary who visited the structure in 1852, and left a full account of his observations, to be found in his "Five Years in China," issued by the Southern Methodist Publishing House, (Nashville, 1860.)

It was to have been raised to an altitude of 329 feet and of thirteen stories, but only nine were built. Careful measurement gave 261 feet as its height, 8¼ feet thickness at top and 12 feet at base, where it was 96 feet and 10 inches in diameter. The facing was of bricks made of porcelain clay, and the prevailing color green, the wood-work curiously carved and richly painted, the many-colored tiles and bricks highly glazed, giving the building a gay and beautiful appearance, greatly heightened in reflected sunlight. When new it had 150 bells and 140 lamps. The wanton destruction of a building like this goes far to explain the absence of all old or great edifices in China.—Vol. i, p. 103.

The description of the commercial city Canton is much fuller than was possible in 1848. One of the most interesting of the newly inserted passages relates to the celebrated Examination Hall:

Similar in size and arrangement to those in other cities, it is 1,330 feet long, 583 wide, and covers over 16 acres. The total number of cells is 8,653. Each cell (designed to isolate a single examinee) is 5 ft. 9 in. deep by 3 ft. 8 in. wide; grooves in the wall admit a plank or two for a seat and table by day and a bed by night. Halls, courts, lodging-rooms, and eating-houses of the examiners with their assistants and copyists, with thousands of waiters, printers, underlings, and soldiers. At the biennial examnation the total number of students and attendants in the hall reaches nearly 12,000 men.—Vol. i, pp. 166, 167.

At page 551, vol. i, may be seen a view of a pictured section of the Examination Hall at Pekin, which is similar in construction to those at Foochow, Canton, and all the provincial capitals. Vol. ii, p. 523, presents the reader with a fine view of the wall of Canton, from a point of view which the writer reached in 1861, but which no foreigner had ever seen till the final occupation of the city by the combined French and English forces at the beginning of 1858. Hong-Kong, which in 1845 had 25,000 inhabitants, now has 130,000, a large proportion of whom are Chinese.

The chapter relating to census and statistics is not greatly changed. In 1881, the Chinese Customs' Reports gave the population at 380,000,000. Owing to the author's predilection for natural sciences, his sixth chapter, on the "Natural History of China," was peculiarly full and interesting in the first edition. We are not surprised, however, to read in his preface, page x:

Foreign students of natural history have, by their researches in every department, furnished material for more extensive and precise description than could possibly have been gathered two score of years ago. The sixth chapter has, therefore, been almost wholly re-written, and embraces as complete a summary of this wide field as space would allow or the general reader tolerate. The specialist will recognize the fact that this rapid glance serves rather to indicate how immense and how imperfectly explored is this department, than to describe what is now known.

Fifty-six pages in the former work are increased to eighty-four in the new edition, and this section is enriched by some

choice specimens of landscape scenery that show that the photographer has been abroad.

In so staid a government as China there is not to be anticipated any such changes in laws and their administration as can be effected by almost any legislative body in this uneasy country, or by any session of Congress or Assembly, and hence the alterations in these two chapters do not go beyond a few omissions and additions.

Chapter IX, devoted to schools, books, teachers, studies, competitive examinations, and literary degrees, is an attractive one. School-books—the books first put into the hands of children and youth—exert such a powerful influence in the formation of character that the author felt impelled to devote ten pages in both old and new edition to the discussion of six elementary works of this description. Having no alphabet, the beginner's first work is to learn, by sheer force of memory, some thousands of separate characters, each of which is a word of one syllable, that may become a part of a compound word when two or three of them are strung together to form a compound word, as fire-wheel-ship, steam-boat; self-come-fire, friction match; united-people-country, United States. These word characters, arranged in vertical columns, reading downward, and commencing at the right, where we leave off, are totally destitute of inflection. A familiar story lesson of our old Webster spelling-book would be arranged, trimetrically, as follows. Begin at the right:

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| quick | grass | old | pelt | old | say | on | one |
| come | no | man | him | man | come | he | old |
| down | good | say | grass | say | down | tree | man |
| | | | | | | | |
| beg | pelt | word | make | fetch | chap | steal | find |
| man | he | no | chap | you | say | he | rude |
| pardon | stone | good | laugh | down | wont | fruit | boy |

Such is the arrangement of the initial learn book, called "The Three Character Classic," which begins with the nature of man and the necessity and modes of education, instead of the simple fables and stories put into the hands of western children. Filial and practical duties are inculcated by precept and example, followed by a synopsis of the various branches of learning, after the favorite Chinese fashion of numerical series,

three powers, four seasons, five virtues, seven passions, ten social duties. Book two is "The Hundred Surnames," a list of the family or clan names in common use in the empire. "Of eighty-three common words pronounced 'ke' only six are clan names, and so it is necessary to have these very familiar in the common intercourse of life." Hence the importance of their early study. The third is "The Thousand Character Classic," of which no two characters are alike in form or meaning. What a tax on the infant memory! The fourth is "Odes for Children."

> It is of the utmost importance to educate children;
> Do not say that your families are poor,
> For those who can handle well the pencil,
> Go where they will, need never ask for favors.
>
> A passage for the sea has been cut through mountains,
> And stones have been melted to repair the heavens:
> In all the world there is nothing that is impossible;
> It is the head of man alone that is wanting resolution.

The fifth is "Canons of Filial Duty," a record of conversation between Confucius and a disciple on the principles of filial piety, a theme on which Chinese writers are forever harping. The sixth school-book is the "Juvenile Instructor," which treats of the first principles of education; duties owed to selves and kindred; wise sayings of eminent men, wise maxims, and eminent examples.

The great influence which these six school-books have had is owing to their formative power on youthful minds. A large proportion of youth never go beyond them, for want of time, means, or desire. They are really here furnished with the kernel of their best literature.

On the Chinese system of competitive examinations for literary honors, where a youth graduates to what roughly corresponds to our A.B. in his own county, a subsection like one of our congressional districts; A.M. at the provincial or State capital, at the severe triennial examination; and LL.D. at the national capital, Dr. Williams submits a few notes, characterized by the discernment that pervades all his selections. We append a few scattered extracts:

Not one in a score of graduates ever obtains an office; not one in a hundred of competitors ever gets a degree; but they all

belong to the literary class and share in its influence, dignity, and privileges. These unemployed *literati* form a powerful middle class, whose members advise work-people who have no time to study, and aid their rulers in the management of local affairs. This class has no badge of rank, and is open to every man's highest talent and efforts. Talent, wealth, learning, influence, all have full scope for their greatest efforts in securing the prizes. If these prizes had been held by a tenure as slippery as they are at present in the American Republic, or obtainable only by canvassing popular votes, the system would surely have failed, for "the game would not have been worth the candle."

Chinese institutions of learning have opened the avenues of rank to all, by teaching candidates how to maintain the principles of liberty and equality. All these institutions need, to secure and promote the highest welfare of the people, is faithful execution in every department of government. The Chinese seem to have attained the great ends of human government in as high a degree as it is possible for man to go without the aids of revelation. Its truths, its rewards, its hopes, and its stimulus to good acts are yet to be received among them. The course and results of the struggle between the old and the new in the land of Sinim will form a remarkable chapter in the history of man.

The chapter on "Language" is probably as little altered as any in the new book. One of the most copious languages in the world to the eye, Chinese is one of the most meager to the ear. The following English sentence will illustrate it: "Wright—write rite right"—a complete sense to the eye, but conveying no idea to the ear, but a meaningless repetition of the same word. The sameness of sound to the ear is carried to a fearfully perplexing extent in Chinese. The number of separate syllables is exceedingly limited. The entire number of vocables in any dialect as modified by initials, finals, and tones amount only to a few hundreds. But

this paucity of vocables or monosyllabic words is largely compensated in the spoken dialects by the very frequent union of two or more words, virtually forming polysyllables, to express simple ideas. Thus the number of words is increased to several thousands, which give the Chinese language a richness and variety of expression but little, if any, inferior to that of alphabetic languages.

In the Foochow dialect forty-six characters are called Ching, fifty Ping, sixty Ling, seventy Sing, seventy-five Ing, samples of what obtains throughout this dialect and all others of this curious language. While the acquisition of such a world of

written characters (44,400 in Kanghi's Dictionary) is the work of laborious years for the eye and memory, the vocal language is easy of acquisition. The Fo-ke-en tongue has about twenty-five sounds in its vocalization where the English has forty, none so hard as our guttural *g*, or aspirated *th*, which Europeans, and even our own native-born negroes, change to *d*. The learner in Chinese has to master the German *ü*, the French *ieu*, the initial *ng*, and the tones on the correct use of which the meaning of words and sentences so much depends. In learning English, Chinese organs find it difficult to curl themselves about the *r* for which they universally substitute *l* in the jargon that is called Pigeon English, used in trade at Canton, to which Dr. Williams makes repeated reference in his volumes. Not stopping to acquire the Chinese, and impatient of teaching the natives correct speech, the necessities of trade for two hundred years have created a barbarous jargon or lingo, which, comically enough, the Chinese suppose to be good English till better instructed. Curious specimens of this gibberish are found at page 832 of volume i and 402 of volume ii. The interested reader will find Longfellow's "Excelsior" *in extenso* in this droll "chow-chow" in General Rusling's "Across America," page 302. Dr. Williams concludes the chapter with some sensible remarks, page 25:

> A knowledge of the Chinese language is a passport to the confidence of the people, and when foreigners generally learn it the natives will begin to divest themselves of their prejudices and contempt. As an inducement to this study, the scholar and philanthropist have the prospect of benefiting and informing, through it, vast numbers of their fellow-men; of imparting to them that which will elevate their minds, purify their hearts, instruct their understandings, and at the same time make them acquainted with the discoveries in science, medicine, and arts among western nations.

Consul Medhurst, in his "Foreigner in Far-Kathay," thinks the Protestant missionaries have made a mistake in confining their preaching and publications too exclusively to the local *patois* of the language, securing the attention of the lower classes, but exciting the contempt of the higher and more scholarly. It may be the mission of Christianity in eastern Asia to elevate these local languages into vehicles for future literature, as the translation of the Bible into vernacular did

for the priest-despised *patois* of Europe a few centuries ago. In China, as elsewhere, Christianity will take its first root among the lowly, and not among the proud and Pharisaic *literati;* it will begin in homes and among women and children, and not among the merchant adventurers of Australia, the Malay Archipelago, or California. Its language every-where is not that of literature and commerce, but that of the hearth and heart. By and by literature will condescend to borrow from that which it originally despised.

Since the chapter on "Classical Literature" was published in 1848, Dr. Legge has given to the world his extended editions of the classics, to the translating and editing of which he devoted his life-work in the intervals of missionary labor. For the old quotations Dr. Williams has wisely substituted some pages from Legge's translation of the "Book of Odes" done into English verse.

For specimens of the ability of the ancient Chinese, contemporary with the Jewish Moses or Isaiah, to make verse, we must refer the reader to pages 638–40 of the first volume of the revise. One extract of two verses is especially severe upon a female mischief-maker in the court of King Yu. The first reads:

> "To woman's tongue let scope be given,
> And step by step to harm it leads;
> Disorder does not come from heaven,
> 'Tis woman's tongue disorder breeds."

Numerous stanzas among the odes show the fairer side of the female character, and go far to neutralize the foregoing, giving the same contrasts in womanly disposition that were portrayed by Solomon in the same age. In the edition of 1848 the life of Mencius was given before that of Confucius; in 1883 these names and the accompanying biographical notices are restored to their chronological order, not a solitary instance of judicious transposition in the making up of the later volumes.

The sketches of the lives of the two great philosophers, Koong and Meng, absurdly written in English, or rather Latin, Confucius and Mencius, (names made of the surname and title combined, like Smithmister and Brownprofessor,) are enriched with incidental touches and enlarged.

Turning the leaves rapidly, and examining cursorily several

of the succeeding chapters, we notice valuable additions made from wider study, rarer opportunity, and fresher knowledge to the manufacture of the porcelain for which China has been so long famous, as well as to those other articles of world-wide commercial importance, tea and silk. On pages 87, 88, we find a paragraph worth quoting because it shows the ease and readiness with which the Chinese accept membership in the numerous Christian denominations, representing twenty different missionary societies.

> One characteristic feature of Chinese society cannot be omitted in this connection, namely, its tendency to associate. . . . The people crystallize into associations, in town and country, in buying and selling, in studies, fights, politics—women as well as men.

> Every one must belong to a *ho-ey*, and when converted to Christianity it is to join the Methodist Ho-ey, or the Presbyterian Ho-ey, or the Episcopal Ho-ey, whose profound differences in theologies and forms seem no greater to them than those of the industrial associations into which all society is divided.

> In trade, capitalists associate to found banks; little farmers club together to buy an ox; pedlers to get the custom of a street; porters to monopolize the loads of a ward; chair-bearers to furnish all the sedans for a town; even the beggars are allotted to special streets, by the *ho-ey*, and driven off another's beat if they encroach.

Chinese art and symbolism are fully treated and enriched by cuts, one of which depicts the ravages of the thunder-god, encircled by lightning and flames, almost the only Chinese mythological deity portrayed, like the unscriptural angels of Christian painters and artists, with wings.

The chapters on Religion and Missions are of pre-eminent interest to the readers of this review. Full exhibits of the religions of the empire have been given in special and separate treatises by veteran missionaries, Medhurst, Legge, Edkins, Martin, and others. No less than eight religions are tolerated, and flourish side by side, some of them intertwined, single individuals being at once Confucianists in theory and Buddhists in practice. There is the indigenous or State religion, Confucianism, Taouism, Buddhism, Judaism, Mohammedanism, Romanism, Protestantism. The masses are Buddhists, the

product of ten centuries of unremitting missionary labor from India.

The State religion, the worship of Shan-te, supreme ruler, by the emperor in person, a wonderful pageant, is brilliantly illustrated by a frontispiece copied from a Chinese painting.

Legge's "Taouism" ("Religions of China," Scribners, 1881) is later and more satisfactory than Williams, and he who wishes fuller accounts of Buddhism must seek it in Edkins, Legge, Spence Hardy, Barth's superb manual of the "Religions of India," (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1882,) and Arnold's "Light of Asia," "the fervid lines of which," says Dr. Williams, "take one quite into the realm of fable, and make us wish that the Confucian analects and their matter-of-fact detail could have been imitated by the disciples of Siddharta." Confucianism should be saint-worship, (very distasteful it would have been to the political reformer and moralist and non-religionist ;) yet the presence of fifteen hundred temples seems to savor of the divine. As the tithes of the ancient State religion and the ten commandments of Buddhism point to an analogy with Judaism, so the seventy special disciples of Confucius and the three thousand converts to his system remind us of the seventy of the Saviour and the three thousand baptized on the day of Pentecost. The real religion of the Chinese Dr. Williams thinks is "the worship of deceased ancestors."

> The doctrines of Confucius and the ceremonial of the State religion exhibit the speculative, intellectual dogmas of the educated *literati* and thinkers ; the tenets of Lau-tsz, and the sorcery and incantations of his followers, show the mystic and marvelous part of popular belief, while Buddhism takes hold of the common life, offers relief in times of distress, and escape from future hell by a round of prayers. But the heart of the nation reposes more upon the rites offered at the family shrine to the living divinities who preside in the hall of ancestors than to all the rest.—Vol. ii, p. 236.

Christian missions in China, so far as we know, commenced with the Nestorians in the seventh century. The Romanists have put forth herculean efforts to missionize the empire, from the thirteenth century down. The period of their special dominance embraced one hundred and fifty years, from Ricci in 1582 to 1736. "Few missions in pagan countries have been more favored with zealous converts, or more aided and coun-

tenanced by the rich and noble, than the early papal missions to China." Yet, through the constant disputes between the followers of Loyola, Dominic, and Francis, more virulent than any between various denominations of Protestants, they managed to get themselves excluded from the empire.

They evidently decreased in numbers and influence until the new era inaugurated by the treaties of 1858.

Williams gives statistics as follows, reported by themselves, which we have taken the liberty to tabulate:

| | 1820. | 1839. | 1846. | 1866. | 1870. | 1881. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bishops..... | 6 | 8 | 12 | 20 | | 41 |
| Co-adjutors..... | 2 | | 8 | | | |
| Foreign Missions. | 23 | 57 | 80 | 233 | 254 | 664 |
| Native Priests... | 80 | 114 | 90 | 237 | 138 | 559 |
| Converts..... | 215,000 | 303,000 | 400,000 | 363,000 | 404,530 | 1,092,818 |

Papal fashion, the total number of converts includes all the members of the families who give outward adherence to the rites of the Church. The tale of converts is doubtless swelled by including infants, surreptitiously—we might add, superstitiously—baptized, in a dying state, by sisters of charity, as at Tientsin, where their anxiety to get infant neophytes led to methods that provoked the jealousy and suspicion of the natives, and inflamed them to such a degree as to result in a mob, and the bloody massacre of twenty foreigners, including the French consul, and as many natives, nurses, teachers, and servants.

The success of Protestant missions since 1844 is decidedly gratifying. We miss the well-thumbed list of missionaries sent out by fourteen Protestant societies between 1807 and 1849, one hundred and twelve in number, found on pages 375, 376 of the second volume, old edition. In the revise, we have, at pages 360–62, the treaty articles which secured the toleration of religion and the protection of Christians. In a letter to the writer, dated February 6, 1878, Dr. Williams refers with pardonable pride and due thankfulness to God, to the "opportunity he had to get the toleration article into the United States treaty, whence it was transferred into the British treaty." On page 362, in a foot-note, he animadverts with characteristic candor and severity upon Article VI of the French treaty, 1860, in relation to the restoration of property once owned by the Romanists, which closes with the clause, "It is

permitted to French missionaries to rent and purchase land in all the provinces, and to erect buildings thereon at pleasure."

"This sentence," says Dr. Williams, "is not contained in the French text of the convention. The surreptitious insertion of this important stipulation in the Chinese text makes it void. The procedure was unworthy of a great nation like France, whose army environed Pekin when the convention was signed."

In carrying out the details of this obnoxious article so much injustice and violence were exhibited by native Romanists, supported by missionaries, in claiming lands alleged to have belonged to them as far back as the days of Ricci and the Ming dynasty, and forcing owners and occupants to yield them without any or sufficient compensation, that riots and hatreds arose in many parts of China. Temples, houses, and shops that had been in the legal possession of natives for one or two centuries were claimed under this stipulation, and they forcibly resisted the surrender. The discontent became so great that the French minister at last issued a notice about 1872 that no more claims of this kind would be received from the missionaries, and further complaints ceased.—Vol. ii, p. 362.

No less than six complete translations of the Bible into the Chinese have been made during this century. Numerous partial translations have been made in the local dialects, dictionaries multiply, and the means for acquiring the language and instructing the natives are manifold what they were thirty years ago. In 1877 a conference of Protestant missionaries was held at Shanghai, in the spirit of the union and catholicity that characterize the present age, at which one hundred and twenty-six men and women, connected with twenty different bodies, assembled to discuss their common work in its various departments. At that conference it was reported that the whole number of missionary stations was 92; outstations, 532; organized Churches, 318; wholly self-supporting, 18; partially self-supporting, 264; male communicants, 8,308; female, 5,207; total of Church members, 13,515; pupils in schools, day, boarding, and Sunday, over 8,000; ordained pastors and preachers, 73; assistant preachers, 519; churches, 246; chapels, 457; hospital patients, 135,381; medical students, 33; contributions by native Christians, $9,571. The total number of men who had joined the Protestant missions was 484. The

total number of persons then engaged in active work in China was 473; of these 210 belonged to ten American societies; 242 to thirteen British, and 26 to two German societies. Of the women, 172 were the wives of missionaries, and 63 unmarried. In conclusion, Dr. Williams pays merited compliment to the deceased members of the missionary corps.

The Chinese are eminently a trading people, and the chapter on commerce has been extended by the author somewhat in the measure commensurate with its importance. Opium still occupies its prominent place, notwithstanding the frantic but futile efforts of the government to get rid of it. The import of it was legalized in 1858 under compulsion by the government, which no longer prevents the cultivation of the poppy, and its growth has rapidly extended through the provinces. The average amount of import of this destructive drug Dr. Williams puts at sixty millions of dollars a year. A full exhibit of the traffic in all its hideousness and iniquity, from the pen of Dr. S. L. Baldwin, will be found in the October number of this Review for 1883. Full tables of the amount and value of foreign trade with China, with exports of teas and merchandise, are brought down to 1881.

Out of the concluding chapters of the edition of 1848 not less than twenty pages have been omitted, and half as many substituted in their place. They contained a full and succinct account of the origin and progress of the war, which, as Dr. Williams says, "was looked upon by the Chinese, and will always be looked upon by the candid historian, and known to posterity, as the Opium War." He regards it as "matter of lasting regret that the impression has been left on the minds of the Chinese people that the war was an Opium War, and waged chiefly to uphold commerce in that pernicious and destructive article."

Chapter XXIV is a condensed account of that singular episode in Chinese history—the Tai-ping rebellion. It is a romantic story, and as reliable as it is romantic. It is impossible to compress into a few pages that which has occupied volumes. Nevertheless, we know of no account more succinct and accurate than that given to the general reader in the twenty-fourth chapter of "The Middle Kingdom." A disappointed Canton scholar, failing to become a literary graduate,

gets a smattering of Bible doctrines through missionary tract distribution, becomes a sort of convert, abjures idolatry, burns temples, smashes idols, has visions, works cures, preaches, baptizes, keeps the Sabbath, gathers adherents by the thousand, becomes possessed of the idea that he is chosen of Heaven to overthrow the Tartar dynasty that has lasted for two centuries, begins in 1851 his northwardly march, takes capital after capital of the provinces that lie in his route, till within little over a year he is in possession of Nankin, the old capital of the empire, on the mighty "Child of the Ocean"—the Yang-tze-kiang. One of his lieutenants marches through several of the provinces north of that till he gets within seventy or eighty miles of Pekin. Why the insurgents did not rush upon the capital and seize the reins of power when the government was crippled in 1858, and again in 1860, by the foreign powers, is only explained on the supposition that the leader was not equal to his position—that it is easier to disorganize and destroy than to build up and create. How the King of Universal Peace held communications with the Father Almighty, called himself the brother of Jesus Christ, and inquired whether the Virgin Mary had not a virgin sister whom he could marry and add to his harem of wives, need not be recounted here. Neither can we dwell upon the attitude of England, hastening, in 1861, to recognize the Southerners as belligerents, and at the same time assisting to squelch the Tai-pings as rebels, bringing the rebellion to a summary and speedy end in 1864 by the agency of one of her own lieutenants, the famous Colonel Gordon. All this reads like romance in the pages of Dr. Williams, who concludes the chapter thus:

> The once peaceful and populous parts of the nine great provinces through which the hordes of Tai-ping passed have hardly yet begun to be returned to their previous condition. Ruined cities, desolated towns, heaps of rubbish, still mark their course from Kwang-Si to Tientsin, a distance of two thousand miles. Their presence was an unmitigated scourge, attended by nothing but disaster from beginning to end, without the least effort on their part to rebuild what had been destroyed, to protect what was left, or to repay what had been stolen. Wild beasts roamed at large over the land after their departure, and made their dens in the deserted towns; the pheasant's whir resounded where the hum of busy populations had ceased, and weeds and jungle covered the ground once tilled with patient industry. Millions

on millions of wealth was irrecoverably lost and destroyed, and misery, sickness, and starvation were the lot of the survivors. It has been estimated by foreigners living at Shanghai, that from 1851 to 1865, fully twenty millions of human beings were destroyed in connection with the Tai-ping rebellion.

In 1853 the hopes of missionaries and of the Christian world were high, because of the professed Christian character of the revolutionists. They were doomed to disappointment. Chaplain Hobson, the Bishop of Victoria, and many others, opined that the Chinese Empire was crumbling to pieces, and that a new dynasty would be erected on the ruins that would tolerate Christianity, and put renewed China into the family of nations. British and French cannon were the missionaries destined to effect this great and much-desired change. Yet the Tai-ping movement was not without its blessings, some of which Edkins points out: the dissemination of even imperfect ideas of Christianity; the dispelling of the idea of the infallible and divine character of the emperor as the son of Heaven; and, above all, the gratitude created in the minds of the Imperialists by the timely aid afforded in the hour of the empire's dire necessity.

We cannot commend or approve the rage of the Manchu rulers who retaliated the wholesale slaughter of the troops and garrisons by the Tai-pings by decapitating rebels by platoons. In 1861 we looked with shuddering interest on the little square "execution ground" in the city of Canton, where Yek cut off seventy thousand heads in one year—Williams says "a hundred thousand in fourteen months." The second war grew out of the interference of the Chinese with a vessel carrying the British flag, precipitated by a "fiery" consul * and a "conceited" Hong-Kong governor.† It resulted in a final raid by French and British upon Pekin, the complete humiliation of the Chinese, who were forced to open their long-closed doors to receive embassadors and ministers from foreign nations on terms of perfect equality, and to send ministers to those courts in return.

On my arrival at Canton in 1833, [says Dr. Williams,] I was officially reported to the hong merchant Kingqua as a foreign devil who had come to live under his tutelage. In 1874, as secretary of the American embassy at Pekin, I accompanied Hon. B. P. Avery to the presence of the Emperor Tungchi, when the United States minister presented his letters of credence on a footing of

* Parkes. † Bowring.

perfect equality with the "son of Heaven." With two such experiences in a life-time . . . it is not strange that I am assured of a great future for the son of Heaven.

We could wish that every thing might tend in the direction of educating the Chinese nation up to its destined place in the family of nations. When the writer was in China he insisted on the benefits of teaching the natives English, and taught all who desired to learn; and had the gratification after his return to America of receiving from his last teacher a letter, written in a good hand, and in perfectly correct English. Now Anglo-Chinese schools are established at Pekin, Foochow, and elsewhere as useful adjuncts to missionary effort. It is singularly anomalous that after years of labor, several wars, and the expenditure of millions of treasure and the sacrifice of thousands of lives, to compel the Chinese to open their empire to the influx of foreigners, the American nation, with millions of miles of unoccupied territory, should be the first to inaugurate the very policy of exclusion which united nations whipped the Chinese out of!

We send word to the emperor that we wish he would keep his yellow subjects at home. He sends back word that he would be only too happy to do so, and will be doubly obliged if we will keep our merchants and missionaries off his soil, and persuade the whole race of devil barbarians to do the same. "To the Chinese mind," says Consul Medhurst, "progress represents the free introduction into the country of a pushing, self-willed, impracticable, eccentric race, whose notions and habits are at utter variance with every thing to which they have hitherto been accustomed." "The ruling and influential classes only tolerate our presence in the country, and I firmly believe they would hail the day when they could see the last foreign factorate razed to the ground and the last ship dismissed from the coast, *malgré* the loss to the national revenue and the ruin of districts dependent on our trade that would surely ensue." In the East the Chinese are the great colonizers. The Shanghai Conference of 1879 called attention to the overflow upon the Indian Archipelago, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific coast, and says, "It will prove a blessing or a curse, just in proportion as the frontier is cared for." "There is no hope for China in itself." Its hopes for education, enlighten-

ment and Christianity, rest with the white race, the custodian, under God, of the dark races of the globe. Hand in hand, commerce and Christianity are making the tour of the world. They are antagonistic only alone. Commerce enthrones cupidity in the place of conscience. The Chinese are a nation of traders with very little conscience. The British are a nation of shop-keepers subject to spasmodic exacerbations of conscience. As yet the conscience of the nation has never so triumphed over interest as to prevent the raising of opium by one heathen nation to debase another heathen nation in spite of the frantic remonstrances of its half-civilized rulers.

In 1877 the Chinese embassador to England put the question to Dr. Legge: "Which country, from a moral stand-point, is the better of the two, England or China?" "England," replied the patriotic Scotch doctor. The mandarin pushed back his chair, rose, strode across the room, and cried: "You say that England is better than China from a moral stand-point! Then how is it that England insists on our taking opium?"

The education of a national conscience is slow work. In the liquor trade here, and the opium trade there, individual passion and trade cupidity override conscience. Flabby politicians urge lightly the make-shift urged upon the mandarins by Sir John Davis forty years ago: "Legalize the traffic you can't control." To every form of human hurt the Framer of the moral code laid down the positive "Thou shalt not," without stopping to inquire whether a man would stint obedience or obey.

But it is time to take leave of "The Middle Kingdom," and its pious, devoted, scholarly, plain-spoken author. It would be pleasant to refer to many other things, and to quote more largely from its pages. Its treasures of Chinese bibliography are worth the price of the volumes. He enriches his work by citations from nearly two hundred authors, the names of whose works are given in the text or foot-notes. The style in which the work is gotten up, its size, illustrations, chapter headings, voluminous index, print, and binding, are all indicative of the times and reflect credit upon the publishers.

The work, as we said in the outset, is monumental. To the memory of Ward and Gordon, captains of the Ever-Victorious Force that suppressed the rebellion, the grateful Chinese will erect shrines, if not temples, and burn incense forever as to

saints or divinities. Both nations, the Chinese and American, will owe a supreme debt of gratitude to Dr. Williams for a life-long effort to create a mutual understanding and a Christian good-will that shall affect the welfare of millions.

China's second great philosopher, Mencius, said: "There is no attribute of a great man greater than his helping other men to practice virtue." And again: "A wise man is the teacher of a hundred generations."

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## Art. VIII. — SOME ASPECTS OF THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

The declaration of the apostle, made somewhat incidentally, that the advent of Christ was at "the fullness of time," sets forth a fact of far-reaching import. Many learned men, uniting the offices of the scholar and the artist, have delighted to picture to the imagination the expectant world waiting for the Coming One: some, in the clear vision of prophecy; some, in unconscious aspirations and groanings, as they who wait for the morning, looking with untiring hope for the long-looked for deliverance; many more, caring only for their present pursuits and pleasures, but unconsciously "building better than they knew," were bringing about that order of things in human affairs which should best subserve the purposes of the divine providence respecting the establishment of Christ's kingdom among men. The incarnation took place, as to the earthward side, long ages after it was called for by the apostasy, and promised by God himself to fallen man. Nor is this long delay an altogether inexplicable mystery. A train of preparatory processes for that great event is plainly traceable; and as Christ came not only to suffer and die for man's redemption, but also to reveal God's will, and to inaugurate the dispensation of the Gospel among men, the condition in which the world should be found at and closely following his coming was a matter of the highest importance.

Among the several items enumerated by the pen of inspiration, as contained in "the mystery of godliness," is the twofold fact that it was "preached among the Gentiles" and "believed

on in the world;" and of all the wonderful things about the Gospel's career, its conquest of the Roman Empire, and its dominance of the whole western world in less than three hundred years from its first promulgation, is perhaps to human appearances the most wonderful. The purpose of this initial study respecting one of the greatest events in the promulgation of the Gospel and its acceptance—the preparation and publication of *the Epistle to the Romans*—shall be to make a survey of the situation of the world at that time. The subject is not an occult one, for scarcely to any other age has the Muse of History ever been so partial, and yet it is a very broad field, and our survey of it must be both general and hasty.

The world at that time, so far as seen either in sacred or profane history, was simply the Roman Empire. The flight of the Roman eagle was from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, and from the Danube to the Great Sahara; and there was none to challenge his authority. Roman arms then held the unwilling peoples in quiet subjection; and Roman law, which always followed in the footsteps of the conquering legions, was everywhere present, decreeing equal justice to all free subjects, and bearing the sword not in vain—not (to such) as "a terror to good works, but to the evil"—and enforcing peace and order among the (until now) hostile and belligerent nations. The Divinity that rules in human affairs had "made wars to cease;" so that even martial Rome rested from conquest and slaughter. The world as then known was a single consolidated empire, under a sole imperial power, and subject generally to the same laws; and the empire was at peace.

The career of conquest by which Rome had become mistress of the world, and its empire world-wide, had also enriched all Italy with the spoils of the vanquished nations. Gradually, through more than seven hundred years, the nations of the world had been contributing of their most valued treasures for the enriching of the city on the Tiber, and steadily, through all these years, the Roman people had been advancing in all the forms of natural greatness. Theirs were the harvests of the most distant fields; the gold and silver, the pearls and precious stones of the whole world, gravitated to the banks of the Tiber: and the arts of Egypt and Assyria and Persia, and, beyond all others, of Greece, had found their resting-place in Rome.

And with their works of art came also the artists to teach their conquerors, and to naturalize taste and culture on Italian soil. Rome itself, within its twenty miles of circumvallations, was at the time of the advent a vast aggregation of palaces, the home of luxury such as, happily for us, is unknown in our times; and all Italy was a region of villas, and gardens, and pleasure grounds, while its smaller cities rivaled the metropolis in wealth, culture, luxury, and debauchery. The cessation of wars had given opportunity for the pursuits of peace, and the Augustan age ensued, with all that we seek to express by that name; which, however, in its reality, entirely outstripped men's largest conceptions. Wealth and luxury demand the service of menials, and accordingly Rome swarmed with slaves, who made up numerically the greater proportion of her millions of peoples. These were chiefly prisoners of war; often the ablest, the most learned and cultured, of the desolated and despoiled nations; and now they served their masters with their learning and genius as scholars and artists, and in all the learned professions; and, despite their condition, they constituted a not inconsiderable social element. And besides these, there was the Roman populace—a vast multitude of idle, effeminate, and pleasure-loving men and women, who lived only to indulge their passions and lusts, and their worse than brutish impulses, and to whom the government distributed its daily dole of provisions, and for whom it maintained, at untold cost, theatrical displays, athletic sports, and gladiatorial shows. Such was the city of Rome of the first Christian century.

But in the midst of this every-where manifest material splendor—this idleness, effeminacy, and pleasure-seeking—there was no lack of learning, and of deep and broad and elevating thought. The more earnest tendencies of the period took the forms of Platonism and Stoicism, while an equally learned and scarcely less thoughtful class accepted the philosophy of the Epicureans, who, believing nothing and hoping for nothing but what might befall them in the blind happenings of fortune, made it their wisdom to seize the pleasure of the passing hour, regardless alike of the claims of an ideal right or the recompenses of the absolutely uncertain future. The Stoics were the highest type of Romans, learned, thoughtful, and proud;

worshipers of virtue according to their conception of it, sensible of the emptiness of what men usually call pleasure, with a blind intuition of the right, and of obligation to conform to its demands, and thoroughly possessed of an egoistical contempt for the vulgar herds of humanity. This people were without a properly defined religious faith; their god was little more than an unknown force, and the future life was for them simply an aspiration and a dream, and man himself was in effect only an atom drifting helplessly upon the flood of the ages, without the power to choose his way or to determine his own destiny, but wholly subject to FATE. The Platonists were Grecian rather than Roman, as to the source of their doctrines, and also as to their modes of thinking, but their school had become widely established in Rome. They were idealists, affecting especially subjective meditations and speculations. They were theists, because they inferred, logically, that existence implies an originating cause, and therefore before all existences must be an ultimate First Cause, which they named GOD. But because he was essentially unknown, and indeed unknowable, though he might be made the object of the most exalted contemplation, his distance from all conditioned things rendered him unfit to be an object of worship, and therefore their religious instincts went out to secondary divinities. Their moral ideals were dreamy, indefinite, and uncertain; so that necessarily their system was without authority over their lower impulses; yet were they self-opinionated, and in thought luxurious, selfish, and indolent, and so without moral stamina, and quite unable to redeem others.

The religion of the Roman Empire was, apart from the Jewish element, a universal idolatry, of many forms and ethnic varieties, and yet with a broad and deep unity of character. Comparative mythology readily detects this essential unity beneath the many varieties seen in various countries. Its original element was a naturalism, which was somewhat formulated in both Egypt and Syria, and being brought from both of these countries into Greece, it was there wrought into an elaborate mythology, partly in the form of philosophical symbols, but chiefly in poetic fables and stories of the exploits of the gods, which were not expected to be believed. The gods of the Grecian Olympus were essentially anthropological,

endowed with vast physical powers but without intellectual greatness, and entirely depraved morally. This was the recognized religion, as to both creed and *cultus*, of the Roman Empire; and though it was the policy of Rome to allow each conquered nation to retain its own religion, yet there was among nearly all of them substantially the same mythology and similar religious forms.

But through all this was diffused another and essentially diverse religious element. When God separated a single nation for himself, according to his covenant with Abraham, he seems to have abandoned all the rest of the world, and given them over to their own folly; and thus left to themselves they turned away from seeking after God, and become vain in their imaginations, and their foolish hearts were darkened. This was evidently one side of the process of the work of preparation for the bringing in of the Gospel, of which the history of the chosen people presented the counterpart. For two thousand years the Gentile mind had been allowed to pursue its own course, not, indeed, without providential oversight, nor absolutely without spiritual guidance, but practically it was allowed to grope its way and to work out its own designs, and the result is concisely but comprehensively summed up in the saying, "The world by wisdom knew not God." And now this godlessness of thought had run its course and matured its fruit—a deep and all-embracing darkness of mind and heart, intellectual *agnosticism*, and an overmastering moral depravity of spirit. Men had turned away from God, and made gods for themselves; and God had given them up to work out their own evil purposes; and while they thus "changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshiped and served the creature more than the Creator," the deep native depravity of their hearts had opportunity to develop itself in all forms of monstrous vices and corruptions.

It is quite impossible for us, who have happily never become used to such fearful shapes of matured depravity, to form an adequate conception of the terrible moral corruption of heathen Rome during the early Christian centuries. A glance at it is given in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, but only such as to awaken inquiry rather than to clearly state the case. But the subject is not an occult one. It can be learned

not only from the extant writings of the censors and moralists of those times, but much more from its poets and satirists, its Ovids and Juvenals. Both the "polite" literature and the "high art" of these times (which as to simply artistic finish are of a very high order) when viewed as illustrations of the manners of the times attest the fearful depth of the corruption of even the most cultivated classes. On the one side stand the bloody gladiatorial games, to witness which Rome daily sent out to the Coliseum tens of thousands of her best citizens, men and women, who there found their highest delights in witnessing contests of naked men with each other or with wild beasts, where slaughters by sword or dagger or heavy blows, or by the jaws of the lions, constituted the chief points of interest, and were greeted with the loudest plaudits. On the other side may be seen some indications of the unrestrained practice of licentiousness which had become interwoven into the worship of some of their chief divinities, especially of Bacchus and Venus, in respect to which we may only remark, that they were too gross to be named, and yet they were not only done, but gloried in, by the cultivated Romans of the days of the Empire. So terrible are the evidences of the depravity of those days, that as the lapse of time bears us away from them, and better associations incline us to doubt the possibility of such deep descents into vice, the world was becoming skeptical as to the correctness of the things declared to us; but God did not allow their record to be lost. In one night one of the centers of these abominations, the beautiful city of Pompeii, was suddenly buried with a flood of ashes from Vesuvius while the flood of its daily life was in its full current; and eighteen hundred years later it has been exhumed, to show us by indubitable ocular proofs what that life was. The moral sense of even the Italy of the present day will not tolerate the sights and scenes that were then and there displayed for the public delight.

A closely guarded apartment in the Museum of Naples has been made the receptacle and hiding-place of a large class of statues and pictures taken from the ruins of Pompeii, from which all but a very few visitors are carefully excluded. No youth may look upon them because of their vileness, and no woman could see them but to be either deeply pained or fear-

fully corrupted; and yet these were the open, every-day sights prepared for the public delectation of one of the most refined cities of Italy in the first century. These things demonstrate with fearful clearness the entire compatibility of the finest esthetic culture with the grossest moral depravity; for these works of art, though too indecent to be seen or described, are among the finest specimens of ancient art, showing the genius of taste debasing herself to the service of worse than bestial depravity.

Another demonstrative illustration of the morals of the Romans at the time now under notice is seen in the picture of Roman slavery, which then comprehended a large part of the inhabitants. The baldest records of its conditions will suffice for our purpose. Roman slavery was perpetual and hereditary; it had no limit but the life of the slave, and the child inherited the condition of the parent. The slave had no protection whatever against the avarice, rage, or lust of the master, and was viewed less as a human being subject to arbitrary dominion than as an inferior animal dependent wholly on the will of his owner. The master possessed uncontrolled power of life and death over his slave. He might, and frequently did, kill, mutilate, and torture his slaves, for any or for no offense, so that the slaves were sometimes crucified from mere caprice. He might force them to become prostitutes or gladiators; and instead of the perpetual obligation of such marriages as they were allowed to contract, these unions were formed and dissolved by the master's command, and when the slaves fell sick or infirm by age there was no obligation to care for them. If we are compelled to confess that this picture has been reproduced in some of its worst features in the slavery of our times, it must also be noticed that these modern slaves were at first the lowest kind of savages, and that it became impossible to hold them as slaves except as they were savages; and better still, the Christian sentiment of the age has effectually set its mark of condemnation upon it.

Though God designed that the Jews should be a separated people, that they might conserve and perpetuate his name and worship, and also become the receptacle of his revelations, they held also important relations to the heathen world. That which was announced to Abraham, that in his seed all the nations of

the earth should be blessed, was in part verified in the history of the Jewish people. Their very isolation made them conspicuous, and drew attention to the one great truth of which they were the living witness—the name of Jehovah, the being and character of the one only and true God; and the nations of the world recognized that truth, and in not a few cases sent their offerings to Jerusalem, or became themselves worshipers at the temple. And although, as to their own land, the Jews were a hermit nation, yet both by force and by their own free choice individuals of that nation were, during a large part of their history, a felt presence in many of the principal kingdoms of the earth, often occupying high places, and in their later history they were scattered, as men of business, in almost every city. And by the nature of the case every Jew was a propagandist of his national faith. A large part of the nation were, at a comparatively early date, carried as captives into Assyria, and later another portion, including those of the kingdom of Judah, were carried to Babylonia, and strangely enough, not far from the time of the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, one Jew (Daniel) was the chief minister, another the cup-bearer, and a Jewess the consort, of the Persian monarch. Afterward, when permission was given by Cyrus for the exiles to return to their own land, only comparatively few availed themselves of the proffered favor. Jewish settlements in the far East were recognized as late as the times of the apostles. Even before the times of Alexander the Great many Jews had become domiciliated at various points in Syria and Phenicia, and both Seleucus and Antiochus established colonies of Jews, with all the rights of citizens, in their dominions; and still later they became scattered, chiefly as traders, throughout Asia Minor and Greece and Italy. It is known that in the time of the prophet Jeremiah a large number of Jews migrated to Egypt, and afterward Alexandria became a semi-Jewish capital, whence they also spread abroad into Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea, in Africa. Jewish captives were taken to Rome, after some of the earlier Roman invasions of their country, but they were set free and erected into a local community by Julius Cæsar, to which large additions were made by subsequent immigrations, some of whom were in Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost.

The Jewish character of those times appears to have been instinctively, and even intensely, religious. The expatriated Jews carried their religion with them into their places of sojourn, and wherever they wandered they uniformly prayed with their faces toward Jerusalem, and they were not content simply to exercise and enjoy their religion for themselves, but they were constantly striving, and not without success, to win over to it their Gentile fellow-townsmen. Some such became full proselytes—were circumcised, and so were identified with the people of God. The existence of such a class is indicated by such cases as those of the Greeks who were at the feast at Jerusalem and desired to see Jesus—of the Ethiopian eunuch, the centurion of Capernaum, and Cornelius of Cesarea, and generally by the intelligent readiness of many of the Gentiles, both the rulers and the common people, to listen to the Gospel as preached by the apostles. Evidently nearly all parts of the vast Roman Empire had become, to a greater or less extent, the homes of members of the "twelve tribes scattered abroad," and not only these had by their steady adherence to the religion of their fathers already somewhat leavened the communities in which they severally lived, but also they were present in them, ready to be influenced by the Gospel when it should be brought to them. The divine hand had placed them there, that, like leaven in the meal, they might become available for the furtherance of the Gospel.

Among those who are named as hearing and being convinced and converted by Peter's preaching on the day of Pentecost were "sojourners from Rome, both Jews and proselytes." Some of these probably returned to their distant home, and became the nucleus of the Christian society of the metropolis, which seems to have grown into form by the instinctive tendency of Christians to associate together. And these, with others who became of them, constituted those "that be in Rome," to whom St. Paul addressed his epistle.

The most conspicuous figure in the New Testament history, after its divine Head, is no doubt he who was first known as Saul of Tarsus, and later as Paul, the Apostle to the Gentiles. He was himself an Israelite "of the dispersion," born at Tarsus, in Cilicia, soon after the beginning of the Christian era. His father was a citizen of Tarsus, and, in common with his

fellow-citizens, he was endowed with the franchises of Roman citizenship, which his son also inherited. He was of the tribe of Benjamin, and evidently thoroughly devoted to the Jewish religion. But he resided in a Gentile city, and neither he nor his family could escape the effects of the social atmosphere in which they lived, which through Grecian influence was decidedly liberal in its tendencies. While the home education of the boy was probably in the customs of the older and stricter Jewish school of thought, his out-door education was evidently of the spirit of the Grecian thought and culture. The schools of his native city made use of the Greek language, which quite certainly the young Hebrew spoke as his vernacular, and he also learned its literature. But this provincial Greek was not the classic dialect of Athens, and though St. Paul was clearly no mean scholar in the language of Asia Minor, it is equally evident that he was not a master of the classical Greek. It is evident, too, that his early Grecized training influenced his methods of thinking, for though his later studies brought him somewhat under the influence of the rabbinical methods, yet the traces of his earlier training may be seen in his writings. Traces also of Roman forms of thought, learned evidently in his boyhood, may also be detected in his methods.

At about twelve or thirteen years old he was taken to Jerusalem, and placed under the instruction of Gamaliel, then at the head of one of the great rabbinical schools—that of Hillel—of which he himself became the great ornament. How long he continued a learner in this school we are not told, but as he seems to have accomplished its full course, his term of instruction was probably not less than ten years. He says of himself that he profited by, or became proficient in, the Jews' religion beyond most others, but he gives no dates. He first appears on the stage at the martyrdom of Stephen, which is usually set down as occurring three or four years after the crucifixion of Christ, and then he is called a "young man;" but he was already in an advanced public station, indicating that he was not less than thirty years old. The Christian cause was already making itself felt in Jerusalem, and though there had been a few years of comparative freedom from persecution, during which time not a few of the priestly party among the Jews had accepted the Gospel, now, apparently because of the

apparent lack of deference for the ceremonial law, a violent persecution was aroused against at least the more liberal of the Christians, of which Stephen became the first victim—the stoning occurring under the oversight of "a young man named Saul." It having been also determined to bring under the discipline of the Sanhedrin certain Christians in Damascus, Saul was deputized to proceed to that city and to bring all the Christians that he might there find to Jerusalem. It was while going thither that the great event occurred which changed the whole course of his life, and by which the persecutor became the apostle.

Saul, after his conversion, remained at or near Damascus about three years, preaching Christ. Then he made a visit to Jerusalem, remaining only a few days; and evidently finding it unsafe to remain longer, he retired to his native city, Tarsus, where he remained for a while—how long, whether one year, two, or three, cannot be certainly determined—when he was called by Barnabas to aid in the great evangelistic work then proceeding at Antioch. After this his career constitutes the most considerable item in the New Testament history.

Just how early the controversy about the relation of Christian converts to the ceremonial law arose cannot be certainly determined, but we seem to see traces of it in the charges made against Stephen, on which he was condemned and stoned. The Greek and the Hebrew parties had also appeared in the Church at Jerusalem in the affair that led to the appointment of the seven deacons, one of whom, Philip, was the first to baptize a heathen convert, and another, Stephen, was put to death under a charge that he had said, "that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, [the temple—that is, its service,] and shall change the customs which Moses delivered to us," a charge which, though a perversion of the truth, no doubt had some foundation of fact. Three years later we find Saul at Jerusalem, "disputing with the Grecians, who went about to kill him," but we are not well informed whether or not these Hellenists were in any sense or degree believers, though their intimacy with the concerns of the infant Church might suggest the suspicion that they were. The truce that followed, during which the Church enjoyed a season of quiet prosperity in all parts of Palestine, was varied by Peter's affair with Cornelius,

which at first produced not a little opposition at Jerusalem, but was acquiesced in by "the apostles and brethren that were in Judea," but only after a considerable amount of "contention." After this came the affairs at Antioch, when "a great number" of uncircumcised Grecians "turned unto the Lord," and of necessity the question arose whether or not these converts must, as Christian believers, receive circumcision and submit to all the obligations of the Levitical law, which evidently some were not disposed to do, while others insisted that it was necessary. To meet this difficulty Barnabas was sent to Antioch as a kind of informal and advisory apostolical legate; but he soon became much more interested in the work of grace which he saw in progress than in any questions of the Jewish law involved in the case, and after laboring with them for some time as an evangelist, and finding the work too heavy for himself alone, he turned for assistance, not to the Church at Jerusalem, but to Saul, who was then at Tarsus, and whom he now brought to Antioch, where he continued to labor "for the space of a whole year."

The Church at Antioch was at first planted by the labors of others than the apostles, and it seems to have been from the beginning largely independent of the Church at Jerusalem, so forming a kind of non-Judaic brotherhood. Its relations to the more remote provinces of the west, and the fact that some of its converts belonged in those parts, seemed to make them its proper mission field, and accordingly Barnabas and Saul were sent out to that work, in which they traveled widely, preaching the Gospel through Asia Minor with remarkable success for two years, and then they returned to Antioch and reported their doings to the Church. The growth of the Church among the heathen was carefully noted at Jerusalem, and some over-zealous persons of the mother Church, evidently without any official authorization, came to Antioch, "and taught the brethren [the Gentile converts] that, 'Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved.'" Evidently a pretty sharp controversy followed, which resulted in sending a deputation to Jerusalem, headed by Barnabas and Saul, to obtain the sense of that body upon the great question at issue. The council that met to hear and determine the case, though clearly representing the mother Church, was evidently informal and

without legal power over the case, and yet its decisions could not fail to be widely effective, and the decision was clearly in favor of the Gentile party. Peace being now established, Barnabas and Saul set out on another missionary tour, going over much the same ground as before, and every-where preaching the Gospel, without requiring of their converts the observance of any part of the ceremonial law of the Jews. But the discomfited partisans of the Judaistic school did not quietly accept the decision of the "apostles and brethren" at Jerusalem, but at once, both vigorously and persistently, sought to withstand their teachings and those of the Antiochian school, and to insist on the necessity of conforming to the Mosaic law. And while, probably, the base of the movement was at Jerusalem, its emissaries were found promoting divisions in all places where the Gospel had been preached and Churches gathered.

The conflict thus raised was evidently very bitter; the opposition to the Gospel of the apostle was certainly formidable; and it was terminated only by the destruction of Jerusalem and the utter subversion of the Jewish state. Signs of the presence of this controversy and of its sharpness are seen in nearly all of St. Paul's epistles, but more especially in those to the Galatians and the Romans—the former being the more directly controversial, the latter covering the same ground of argument, but much more fully and elaborately drawing out and setting in order the great central and vital doctrines of the Christian system.

The Church at Rome, of whose founding no account is given, probably grew into form soon after the day of Pentecost, and without the presence or aid of any official or apostolical agents. Because Rome was a place of resort for people from all parts, the Church so begun would naturally become augmented, both by those coming from abroad and by conversions made on the spot. The probable date of the epistle allows not less than thirty years for its continuance and increase, and the indications are, that at the time of its writing that Church was among the most considerable in all the world; and all its conditions and environments appear to show it to have been that to which such an epistle might be addressed, though quite certainly its ultimate design extended much further than to any one place or age.

In treating of the substance of the Epistle to the Romans it is safe to assume, without argument, that it is, as it purports to be, an authentic production of the hand of the apostle Paul, and that our copy of it is genuine, substantially as originally written, and that this letter was actually sent to the Church at Rome about the usually accepted date; and with this view of the matter we have now to consider its contents.

It is a brief document, may be read through at a sitting, and yet it embodies most of the chief doctrinal points of the Gospel. It brings in nothing new, or additional to what had been before declared by divine authority. The apostle's position in this epistle is not that of a "revelator" bringing original intimations given to him by the Holy Spirit, but of a divinely illuminated expositor of things already revealed. All the doctrinal matter found in the Epistle to the Romans may be found in the older Christian documents; but they are found there in a somewhat fragmentary form, scattered through a great many books, and nowhere logically formulated. The purpose here seems to be to combine these fragmentary utterances into a symmetrical whole, with the several points so arranged as to show their mutual relations and interdependencies. This was a work not hitherto attempted; perhaps the time for it had not before come: but now evidently it was distinctly called for, and the man for the work was also at hand.

There were then three well-defined modes of thought in the world, each somewhat entering into each of the others, and all together constituting an active but unsettled state of the public mind, which demanded to be informed and satisfied. Grecian idealism, the subjective method, and the love of the beautiful, had become widely diffused, and it strongly affected the prevailing modes of thinking, and the controlling sentiments of the more cultivated especially, and the great multitude generally. It delighted to occupy itself with the most profound problems of being, and with the soul's deepest intuitions; it contemplated a world quite beyond the range of man's physical senses, and was familiar with theistical and ethical ideas; and quite naturally it mooted, though it could not answer, the great question of man's immortality and of the future life. But, as matter of fact, these higher and purer aspirations of men's minds were overborne by the prevailing

depravity of life and manners, so that they were almost entirely unavailing for practical purposes.

There was also a specifically Roman form of thought, which from its conditions was just then powerfully effective. It was almost wholly realistic, looking only to things specifically material, and considering them chiefly as forces operating according to definite modes. Hence, *power*, *dominion*, and *law* were its elements, and thoughts so formed and directed had gone forward till the whole world had been subjected to them, and under this directing spirit Roman prowess had rendered Roman dominance world-wide, and also carried with it its materialistic arts and its legislation. The Roman idea, of force acting by law, pervaded and permeated and controlled the ruling powers of the empire, and also incorporated itself in the thoughts of the whole people.

The Hebrew mind was always characteristically religious, and all its processes and manifestations were affected by that tendency; and though the political power of that people had become almost wholly extinct, yet evidently the influence of Hebrew thought was incomparably greater in the world at the time of Christ and his apostles than it had been at any previous period. The religion of the Hebrews was the very opposite of Grecian idealism, or of any form of philosophical materialism. It taught men to look beyond themselves for instruction as to both what to believe and what to do. The Hebrew mind habitually contemplated the divine Person, who, according to its conception, was infinite in his attributes and absolutely unsearchable, except as he revealed himself by his Spirit, and not only immanent in all things, but also intelligently and authoritatively present and active in human affairs. And so had he revealed himself to the Hebrew fathers, that they possessed a divinely ordained religious system of both faith and worship, and covenanted assurances of God's favor. Theirs was eminently a religion based upon faith in the invisible *Jehovah*, the one only true God; and in that simple postulate both Grecian idealism and Roman power-worship found their best possible expression, and all the world was moved by it to feel after God, "if haply they might find him."

These several and diverse mental characteristics not only existed among those who immediately represented them, but

they were brought into direct contact with each other among conditions most favorable to their mutual acting and reacting. The Roman conquerors, who uniformly came to stay, brought with them and naturalized in all places the ruling Roman ideas of power and dominion regulated by law, and these naturally became dominant among the nations whether Greeks or barbarians, Jews or Gentiles. Both the Greeks and the Jews had become migratory, and were found domiciliated in nearly every city and nation; and living thus together, at once free themselves and restrained from interfering with the freedom of others, they were permitted to affect each other as they might be able by moral and social influences. Both of these races were of the mercantile calling—a calling which uniformly tends to suppress religious peculiarities in the interest of trade—but as the Jew was less compliant than the Greek in these things, so the Jewish religious thought was the more effective. However removed from the temple and the synagogue, and however dimly he saw the promises and hopes of his nation, the Jew was a Jew still, and somehow he dimly but strongly hoped that his expectations of Israel's greatness and glories would be realized. The Greek, on the contrary, held his religious convictions very loosely, and was as to country cosmopolitan. His religion, which was at first little better than a blind fetichism, had, with the increase of intelligence, become a mere mythology, and the deeper thoughts of earlier times had faded out and given place to an almost universal negation of faith—GREAT PAN IS DEAD. And yet there was among them an unrest, and an unconscious craving for something to believe and some object worthy to be worshiped. The world seemed to be standing still and unconsciously asking, "Who will show us any good thing?"

All of these several forms of thought are clearly manifest in St. Paul's mental and spiritual habitudes. He was, under the divine providence, the creature of his times in his intellectual habits and his conceptions of spiritual things. So far as these several systems contained elements of truth, he took them into himself and assimilated them in his own spirit; and at the same time, by the action of the indwelling Spirit, he rejected from his system all forms and degrees of untruth. Any attempt to estimate the character of St. Paul as an apostle

and an evangelist of a better faith, that does not take fully into the account the specially spiritual qualifications which he brought to his work, must fatally fail; and though it is conceded that the Epistle to the Romans records no revelations by which new Christian truths or doctrines are promulgated, yet Paul's qualification for the work was nevertheless clearly an inspiration and a revelation. In him was fulfilled to an eminent degree the promise of Christ, that the divine Spirit should be imparted to guide the believers into all truth. To his quickened spiritual apprehension the things before revealed and recorded in isolated parts not only appeared in their glorious reality, but also in their mutual co-relations. It was his peculiar mission to concentrate these scattered rays of truth into a burning focus; to arrange them together into a spiritual organism, each member in its place, and altogether constituting a harmonious whole. And this is the peculiar excellence of this epistle.

To his apprehension the Gospel was a system of truth disclosing the divine Person and character, and also man's character as a creature made in God's image, but now defiled and cursed by sin, toward whom, however, God was still inclined to be merciful, and for whose salvation he had wrought out the scheme of the Gospel of which the written word is a revelation. These things he found set forth in the older Scriptures, but scattered in parts through many books, illustrated by various divinely appointed ritualistic services and religious institutions, and announced by prophets and seers, and proclaimed in great fullness and power by Christ himself. To collate these undigested materials in a symmetrical unity is the evident design of the Epistle to the Romans. It was the design of the Holy Spirit to bring the embodied truths of the Gospel within the sphere of human thought as it then existed, and as the divine providence had prepared it for the occasion. For that purpose human speech was a necessary vehicle, and accordingly the Greek language had been built up through the ages and prepared for the needed use. And as it was manifestly adapted to that purpose, so also it alone was available. The Hebrew was always the opposite of a world-wide dialect; it had in its best days been the language of only a single isolated people, and now for more than three hundred years it has been a *dead*

language, confined exclusively to written treatises that could be read only by professional adepts. It was also in itself unfitted for the purpose in hand, for it never gave expression to the specifically Christian conception of religious truth and doctrine. It had rendered a valuable service in recording and transmitting to after times the things which aforetime God spake to the fathers by the prophets; but as even the prophets themselves attained to only an imperfect appreciation of the great truths that they uttered, their language was not adapted to express to a remote generation trained to other modes of thought things so transcendently beyond its proper ideas. The Latin language of the age was still less fitted for such a purpose. It was essentially unspiritual—the embodied and crystallized thinking of an intensely materialistic people. Its unfitness to express other than materialistic and sensuous thoughts and ideas had been seen and felt; and it became the language of the Church only when the Church had degraded its thinking to its own low level. It was also in its widest extent a local language, and in its classical style and form it was the dialect of only a comparatively small number of specially learned orators, poets, and philosophers; for evidently the classical Latin was never the dialect of the Italian populace, and beyond Italy all forms of Latin was a foreign tongue.

The Greek language was not only in itself, by reason of its structure and its latent but effective ideality, the best suited of all the languages of the earth for the embodiment of the deep spiritual ideas of the Christian religion, but it was at that time much more nearly than any other—more so, indeed, than has ever been the case with any other living tongue—the language of the world. It had become the vehicle of the Old Testament, not only among the non-Jewish peoples on the Mediterranean Sea, but also in the Holy Land itself, for evidently it was used because best understood among the people by both our Lord and his disciples, and their quotations from the Old Testament are uniformly taken from the Septuagint; and in their ministrations, even in the interior provinces of Asia Minor, it appears that the apostles used the Greek language, and were understood by the people. This wide-spread use of one and the same language throughout the Roman Empire, and that language the one best suited to the purpose, is to be reckoned

among the particulars of the divine arrangement of affairs for the more ready diffusion of the Gospel, which constituted the age of the advent of Christ, emphatically "the fullness of the time."

But while the Greek language was clearly and incomparably better fitted than any other to become the vehicle of divine truth, it is also equally clear that as it existed in its own literature, and in men's conceptions which it sought to express, even that tongue was quite incapable of adequately indicating the deep and sublime spiritual mysteries of the Gospel. The classical Greek, with all its beauty and richness, had no words nor forms of thought that could embody the deep mysteries of the Gospel of Christ; nor had the Alexandrian and Palestinian Greek given form to the spiritual thoughts that struggled for utterance in the mind and heart of the inspired apostle. His ideas were new in kind as well as in character, and they required a new language for their embodiment, and hence we have the peculiar diction and terminology of the Epistle to the Romans.

In the nature of things language is a later growth than the mental conceptions that it is designed to express, and words are simply the means by which ideas already formed are indicated. So, in the development of the truths and doctrines of the Gospel new ideas were engendered in the minds of the prophets and psalmists, and especially in those of the apostles, for the expression of which a proper vehicle of linguistic forms was needed. But human language uniformly appears, not as a creation, new and complete, but as a growth, and by the accommodation of old words to designate new ideas. It accordingly happens, because the ideas that arise from sensuous perceptions are foremost in the order of time, that metaphysical ideas are usually expressed by words that had a sensuous and materialistic origin. And for a like cause the terms used to express the purely spiritual truths of divine revelation are derived from the things of time and sense. And unless the ideas sought to be expressed have already been formed, at least in part, in the minds addressed, there will be a lack of apprehension of the sense intended to be conveyed. Thus we find that our Lord's discourses were not understood by his unspiritual hearers because of their lack of any adequate preconceptions of the things of which he spake. And so, when St. Paul came to present in

form, and in a comprehensive unity, the deep spiritual truths and doctrines of the Gospel, using the Greek language as his vehicle, he was compelled to apply his words in a widely accommodated sense, which, however, his readers were presumed to be able to interpret in their proper spiritual sense, because they were already in possession of the elementary thoughts to which they were applied. Nor had he, in this, to begin an entirely new process, for that language had already been used to express in a popular form the partially developed truths of revelation as originally written out in the Hebrew Scriptures, and afterward translated into the Greek of the Septuagint. And the language of that version had been largely suffused by the specifically spiritual elements of the Gospel, by the use made of it by Christ and his apostles, whose teachings were known in the Church. It now fell to St. Paul, in the providential economy of the development of the doctrines of Christianity, to thoroughly digest all the elements of truth that till then lay scattered throughout the previously existing Scriptures of both the Old and the New Testament, and which also were still embodied, unwritten, in the spiritual consciousness of believers. His language, therefore, even in its specifically spiritual and doctrinal application, was not entirely new. He used the forms of speech found in the Greek of the Old Testament as they had been interpreted by Christ himself, and by his apostles after him, and whose only partially revealed spiritual import they had detected and declared, and in the clear light of the Gospel had given to its words a deeper and broader significance than had been before suspected. These scattered elements of the sublimest truth were now to be collated, and articulated, and wrought into a harmonious unity—employing the vocabulary already in use, but more precisely and definitely in respect to the ideas to be expressed. This is done in all of Paul's epistles, but nowhere else so fully and comprehensively as in the Epistle to the Romans.

In all these writings the essentially Hebrew elements may be detected in their conceptions of the divine Person and character, which are distinct and definite, so that the Godhead is completely individualized, as is not the case in any of the ethnic theologies. And this revealed Godhead appears in his proper person, *one* and *sole*, not only in fact, but also, from the necessities

of his nature, which also demonstrate his infinity, in all his perfections. The Hebrew theism was essentially unique, for it alone expressed God's revelation of himself; and that form of essential theology passed, in its fullness and with much more luminous demonstration, into the New Testament—eminently into Paul's epistles. The divinely ordained forms of worship, as observed by the fathers, and afterward reduced to specific forms in the Hebrew ritual, reappear, as to the spiritual import of their symbolism, in the fully developed and constructively arranged doctrines of sacrifice and redemption by price, and of atonement by substitution; and these are clearly wrought out by this divinely instructed apostle. And as in the Old Testament the lessons of the prophets served to expound and illustrate the symbolism of the Levitical ritual, so it became the duty of the New Testament teachers to point out the unquestionable fulfillment of these prophecies by Christ in the scheme of Gospel grace. Herein is seen a verification of the sublime truth, that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." In this we detect the largest, best, and most purely spiritual meaning of the saying, "Christ is the end of the LAW." And to make this manifest is the object of which Paul never loses sight.

The apostle's Grecian mode of thought was especially needful for the proper elucidation of the essentially spiritual characteristics of the Gospel. The Hebrew mind appears to have been especially inclined to only objective conceptions and contemplations. It seemed to lack subjectivity and the power of introspection, and in its outlook it was inclined to take cognizance of only externals, while the religion of Christ is eminently spiritual, and the knowledge of it requires habits of subjectivity and introspection—an element in which the Greeks especially excelled. Their purely metaphysical conceptions of the *true*, the *beautiful*, and the *good* became especially available when applied to the "*truth* as it is in Jesus," to "the *beauty* of holiness," and to that essential *righteousness* which is the living spirit of the Gospel, both in Christ's atonement and in the personal salvation of believers. But in all their speculations respecting the supersensuous elements in the human character, the Greeks uniformly failed to apprehend and appreciate the highest, and the only adequate, conception of real and

essential goodness—holiness, and its spiritual opposite—SIN. To that conception the heathen mind never attained; it was a specialty of Hebrew thought, because only the Hebrew mind had been directly taught it by God himself. But this element was abundantly supplied from the Old Testament, and more clearly and forcibly by Christ's own words, and later by the writings of both St. John and St. Paul. The Hebrew conception of SIN—itself a purely metaphysical something, contemplated and defined according to the Grecian methods of thought, is the ever-present background to the apostle's wonderful presentation of the divine holiness; and his scheme of the salvation of the Gospel takes in both of these spiritual and ethical entities. The concurrence of the Hebrew substance and the Grecian methods was requisite for the proper elucidation of that which the Holy Spirit teaches when he comes, according to the promise of the departing Christ, to "convict the world [in respect] of sin, and of righteousness, and of [the] judgment."

There is also prominently manifest in this epistle a specifically Roman method of thought, in its emphatical assertion of the universal presence and the sacred sovereignty of law—its rectitude and its unchangeableness. It allowed no transgression, nor condoned any offense. Its authority was the inseparable accompaniment of the march of Roman conquest, forming an atmosphere in all Rome's dominions, and before its tribunals only the righteous could be justified, and in respect to the guilty the sword of its power was not borne in vain. How these things make their impress upon the earlier portions of the Epistle to the Romans is obvious to every thoughtful reader, intensifying the sense of the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and showing that sinners shall not stand in the judgment. This rugged Roman element gives to that inspired exposition of Gospel truth its authority over men's consciences. The epistle is also specifically Roman in its subordination of the individual to the commonwealth. The human race is a great aggregate unity, in which, though the individual is not wholly lost, yet many of his highest interests are implicated in it. The head of the commonwealth of humanity is charged with the interests of the whole race, and so of every individual, who must gain or lose according as those interests in the hands that hold them are conserved or lost. Care is indeed taken to

affirm the powers and the responsibilities of the individual, but not so as to hide from our view the great truth of the *solidarity of humanity;* that in a highly important and practically effective sense the whole race of mankind was present in Adam's transgression and fall, and also in Christ's sacrifice and redemption, both effective and provisional.

The readers of this epistle will therefore do well to remember these things while seeking the deep import of what they read. Especially must a careful attention be steadily directed to the sense of the leading terms of the writings; and here neither the lexicons nor the best writing in the Greek anthology will be found to be adequate guides. When the apostle speaks of *law*, it may be according to either the Roman or the Mosaic conception, or perhaps, in a higher and broader sense, corresponding to the "Wisdom" of the eighth of Proverbs or the "Logos" of St. John; and whichever may be its sense in any given case must be clearly determined by its connections. When he speaks of SIN we are carried beyond the classical notion of *missing the mark*, of misdirected actions, to something of a purely ethical character, which looks beneath the outward forms of mechanical actions or volitional purposes into the spiritual substratum of the soul, and in its own direct relations to God himself, the essentially holy One, and the righteous Judge of all men. And placing *law* and *sin* thus apprehended over against each other, the fearful and hopeless condition of the sinner before the law becomes fearfully manifest; so disclosing the necessity for another way of salvation than simply legal righteousness. At this point is introduced the fact of atonement by Christ, the death of the *just* for the *unjust*, to bring us to God and his salvation.

Atonement by sacrifice was a well understood Hebrew idea, clearly involving the notion of vicarious suffering and its resultant benefits to the party in whose behalf the sacrifice is made: or, as Robert Hall so well and ably puts the case, "the substitution of the innocent for the guilty," in the divine appointments for man's salvation. The symbolical actions ordained in the service of the bloody sacrifices clearly imply a figurative imputation of the sins of the party for whom the offering was made to the victim, and to this fact Isaiah evidently refers when in his Messianic prophecy he declares,

"On him was laid the iniquity of us all," and "For the transgression of my people was he smitten." Paul's Hebrew methods of thought could not fail at this point to recognize a real substitution, and its appropriate results. His Roman conception of the estate of the lawful captive, and of the ransom price required for his liberation, would also serve him in this case, and by these must his words be interpreted when he declares, "Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law, *being made a curse* for us." And keeping in mind the ever-present realization of Christ's death for sinners, the way of salvation by faith, the "justification" that is "without the deeds of the law," stands forth self-defined in the light of the Gospel of salvation. The law contemplated a way of salvation by personal holiness of heart and life, which man could not render; this was *its justification*. The Gospel provides a substitute for this, identical in its substance and results, which the apostle calls by the same name. It is still *justification*, not by the law, but by the conditional instrumentality of *faith*, and resting ultimately on Christ's mediatorial sacrifice—a sin-offering appointed by the Father's grace. Here sin is seen in its real metaphysical nature and its intense ethical and legal badness. Here is the disposing and commutative righteousness of the divine Sovereign, appointing and accepting the atonement. Here is Christ's willing self-abnegation. Here is the ready faith of the humble and contrite sinner. This is the righteousness of the Gospel.

The epistle is in all its parts an exposition of certain great spiritual truths, and this should be steadily recognized in the interpretation of its language. It speaks of *death;* but the word is taken out of its merely temporal and physical sense, and employed to indicate a spiritual condition of separation from God and of deadness of soul to spiritual things, entailing present condemnation and tending to eternal ruin. This is the *judgment* of which the apostle says that it has come upon all men to condemnation. It speaks of *sin* as a quality and condition of the soul, under all sinful acts and thoughts of the *flesh* and the *body*, and predicated of these not in their material and physically corporeal being, but as forms of depraved and degenerate human nature, the *seat* of sin and the *instrument* of ungodliness. In St. Paul's nomenclature, the *law* is

*spiritual*, and the *works of the law* have their seat in the soul. *Death* is the condition of man in his fall, an alienation from God; his *condemnation* is the estimate placed on him, in his sin, by judicial holiness; his *justification* is his *acceptance with God*, in free pardon bestowed in honor of Christ's death, and in response to the sinner's own prayer of faith. The *resurrection* is the quickening of the soul with Christ, and *eternal life* is the state and condition of the renewed soul, continued into the interminable hereafter.

## Art. IX.—THE LATE GENERAL CONFERENCE.

### THE SITUATION, THE WORK, AND THE OUTLOOK.

The nineteenth delegated General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was in session, in the city of Philadelphia, from the first to the twenty-eighth of May, 1884. It was composed of four hundred and sixteen delegates, from nearly a hundred Annual Conferences, of whom about three fifths were ministers and two fifths laymen. Of these, between thirty and forty were colored men, from Conferences within the old slave States; and nearly as many more were resident non-English-speaking foreigners, chiefly Germans, who have been organized into Conferences, mostly in the Western States. There were also some fifteen or sixteen delegates from foreign mission fields—Germans, Swedes, and Norwegians, with one Eurasian, and one full-blood Hindu from India, and one native African. It was said by some who had looked into the matter, that of the delegates present less than one half had been members of the General Conference of 1880, only a comparatively few of the others had been members in earlier sessions, and that nearly one half of the body was composed of new men. In age, they ranged from the thirties to the seventies, comparatively few being less than forty years old, and still fewer over seventy. One delegate (Rev. Dr. Trimble, of Ohio) had been in every General Conference since, and including that of, 1844; another had been in that of 1848, but not continuously since; and nearly a dozen had served in six, seven, or eight General Conferences. Of the laymen, three or more were serving for

the fourth time, having been in each Conference since laymen were first admitted; and a still larger number, three times. The attendance was unusually full from the beginning to the end of the session, though some seats were occupied by "Reserves," and some who began with the session were excused, giving place to alternates. This was more especially the case with the laymen; but most of even these remained steadily at their posts during the whole session.

The business of the Conference was conducted with remarkable system and regularity. During the first two days, morning and afternoon sessions were held, chiefly for organization and getting the body at its work. About a dozen "standing" committees—made up of one from each Annual Conference, so amounting to nearly a hundred members each—were ordered, each Annual Conference delegation selecting its own member; and to these committees were referred all matters relating to their various divisions of the work, to be considered and put into form for the definite and final action of the whole body, to which the findings of the committees were reported. After its complete organization, the Conference met only in the forenoon, giving up the rest of the day to the committees, and to public meetings in behalf of various societies and Church interests. The completeness of its methods of working enabled the body to get through a vast amount of work in four weeks; as much, it has been estimated, as would occupy an ordinary legislative body three times that period, and yet to do it thoroughly and systematically. These committees held from seven to fifteen sessions, averaging three hours, besides giving out a large amount of details to sub-committees, and each brought back from ten to more than twenty separate reports. Probably a full half of the work was done in these committees, which often showed an attendance of seventy or eighty members, and were conducted as regular deliberative bodies, self-organized, with chairman and secretary, and conducted by the same rules as the General Conference itself. In them were often heard quite as able discussions as any had in the more public body, and, because of their greater freedom, a class of speakers were heard in them who seldom spoke in the Conference, and whose remarks were not less valuable than those of any others. The reports so prepared were usually accepted

and confirmed by the Conference; though in several notable instances they were overruled, and largely modified or entirely reversed or rejected. It was generally declared by those whose acquaintance with former General Conferences enabled them to make the comparison, that the methods of proceeding have steadily improved, and that those of the last were better than any former one, which seems to be proved by the unprecedented fact, that every report was duly disposed of without resorting to a "grinding committee."

Respecting the *personnel* of the body, the estimate made by Bishop Simpson in his closing remarks was probably not far out of the way, when he said: "My conviction is, that there never has assembled, in the bounds of our Church, a more distinguished, a more able, and a more cultured body of delegates in the Methodist Episcopal Church." And certainly the ability and culture of the members were not more marked than were their prevailing good temper and courtesy. The debates—of ten minutes' speeches—were spirited and often able, though it was impossible within such limits to inquire into and discuss the characters and relations of the subjects in hand. But the limited time allowed made great condensation necessary, with the entire omission of both introductions and perorations. The speeches, too, taken singly, were only fragments of arguments, as only one or two points could be given by any one speaker, though two or three in succession, all on the same side, would sometimes make out a somewhat exhaustive discussion. This enforced brevity served also to prevent irrelevant and rambling talks and speeches addressed to Buncombe. It also, no doubt, served to preserve good temper and to prevent the intrusion of personalities, the absence of which was happily especially conspicuous. There was a good religious spirit pervading the body, as well as one of intense earnestness and devotion to business; and an apparent conviction that there was earnest work to be done. And yet the spirit of the body was distinctly hilarious, and both laughs and cheers were easily elicited.

Though there were so many new men in the body, yet any one familiar with former General Conferences could readily see that this was only a continuation of the series of sessions that began seventy-two years before. There were enough of

those who had had experience in earlier sessions to give shape and fashion to the proceedings; and these, without any attempt at leadership, very naturally found themselves at the head of affairs; and the others, with equal and unpurposed readiness, fell into line and went forward. It was no doubt the leaders of former sessions that were chiefly re-elected to this; and these at first were the speakers, making motions and directing in the organization, and beginning the work. But the contingent of new men soon presented a fair share of ready speakers and apt parliamentarians, and many a veteran debater found it necessary to look out for his laurels in tourneys with some of these new-comers. A full share of the debating power was shown by the laymen, some of whom had had the experience of some three, and still more of two, previous General Conferences; and even some who now appeared for the first time showed themselves the equals of the best on the floor. The body was especially independent and self-possessed—courteous, indeed, but evidently conscious of its power, and determined to discharge its duties without fear or favor.

The colored delegates constituted a notable element of the body. No one who had observed this class of delegates since their advent in 1868, when there were but two of them—and increasing each quadrennium till now there were nearly forty—could fail to be struck with the marked improvement made by them. They were really a good-looking body of men, well-dressed and well-behaved, with faces expressive of both intelligence and culture. And their conduct and manners, and especially their public performances, fully justified the promises of their appearance. They seemed to accept the position of equals among their brethren without ostentation or either cringing or undue self-assertion, and the same was accorded to them without apparent condescension.

In respect to the work taken in hand, it may be truly said that this was not a "reform" General Conference. There was an all-pervading but quiet sense of the wholesome condition of the Church, and of the generally satisfactory operation of its affairs. Whatever differences of views may have existed in the minds of delegates, no great question of Church polity seemed to be pending, nor were any wide changes of administration called for. It was very evident that the general polity

and workings of the Church were acceptable to the delegates, who also, certainly, in this fairly represented the prevailing and almost entirely undivided sentiments of both the ministry and laity of the Church. Probably the Church was never more completely at peace within itself than in this centennial year of its completed organic being. And this is the more remarkable because it had come about spontaneously, not by crushing out opposition or subduing minorities, but as the natural outgrowth of confidence and united Christian efforts for the common welfare. No word was heard in favor of doing away with or essentially modifying the Episcopacy; but, instead, it was all along assumed that this arm of the Church's power was to be preserved and cherished, and made as largely as possible effective. The Itinerancy was also steadily, though for the most part tacitly, assumed to be an essential feature of the system; and, as a rebound from certain propositions that had been made to modify that system in a way that some esteemed dangerous, the Conference declared, in the most formal and positive manner, that even to meet possible emergencies not the least change should be tolerated. In respect to Christian doctrines Methodists seldom have any difficulties; and accordingly, during all this session, not a word was heard about either fortifying the Church's standards or guarding against the encroachments of heresies. If, as has been said, the creed of Methodism is the *consensus* of its pulpits and other public teachings, these surely have found out an excellent way to preserve at once the Christian liberty and the orthodoxy of the body.

The quadrennial reports of the great financial, benevolent, and educational institutions of the Church made to the Conference formed a notable feature of the session. In every instance there had been progress; in some cases only moderate, and in others indicating remarkable successes. Relatively the increase of the Church's membership had been outstripped by the growth of nearly every other interest, and unprecedentedly large amounts had come to the various Church institutions, and especially to the schools and colleges of the Church, while very large sums had been expended in church building, and in the liquidation of debts upon houses of worship. The material progress of the Church had been simply marvelous; and the details of that progress, given in those reports, did not fail to

produce a most profound impression, and to establish the confidence of those who heard or read them in the substantial and wholesome growth of the great interests of the denomination. There can be no question that the delegates, comprising a large share of the leading ministers of the Church and representatives of the most effective class of the laity, returned to their homes more deeply than ever before impressed with the conviction of the effective progress of the Church's work, and the magnitude to which that work has grown; and the exhibits of these things as they shall go out to the people will there beget the same hopes and confidence. Certainly this Centennial General Conference brought a good report of work done and of much more to be done.

The work actually done may be estimated either as to its outward aspects, or its less obvious but deeper and broader significance. The election of four bishops, partly to supply the wastes made by death and disease, and partly to meet increasing demands, very naturally awakened much interest. The number *four* (no more) indicated the purpose of the Conference neither to diminish nor increase the relative working force of the Episcopacy. The selection of individuals for the places was made by the free ballots of the delegates, without recognized partisan preference, and with but little respect to the claims of localities. The intimations sometimes heard about unseemly measures used to advance the successes of various candidates certainly did not appear on the surface; and while no doubt as good men were voted for and not elected as any that were chosen, even that fact is not an unmixed evil, as it left them free to serve the Church in other and, perhaps, not less important fields, and in some cases in places more difficult to fill. It is according to a well-recognized tendency in the affairs of aggregate associations of people, that with growth and advancing maturity the individual becomes less and less conspicuous. The first three or four Presidents of the United States stand out much more boldly in the nation's history than do their later successors, though some of these may have been quite their equals in all personal qualities. Greatness is commonly relative, and he who would have achieved renown in some conditions may live and die unknown. It is only natural—a sign of the real growth of the Church, and therefore not to be depre-

cated—that the Episcopacy is relatively a less force in the Church than it once was; nor is that relative position to be laid to the account of the incumbents of the office. Hereafter, probably, our Episcopacy will be somewhat more exclusively a working and administrative power than formerly; and yet, from the dignity of the position, and the power necessarily confided to the Executive during the long intervals between the General Conference sessions, the Methodist Episcopacy must continue to be a very considerable factor in the Church's affairs.

But the strength of the Methodism of the future will continue to more and more concentrate itself in the Annual Conferences. In these primary synods of the traveling ministers the available power of the Church can be best and most effectively developed and brought into action; and according as these assemblies, made up of men each acting in his own individuality, shall well or ill appreciate their positions, and feel the spirit of their calling, will it be well or ill with the Church and with its work. And that it may be all that should be desired and expected, the *esprit du corps* of the body must be cherished and recognized by all. It is those men who do the hard work, accept the poor places, live and die in comparative obscurity, and pass on to superannuation without any adequate provision against want in age and helplessness, that, after all, contribute most to the Church's greatness and practical success. It devolves on these men to carry forward all the great enterprises of the Church, not only in the "cure of souls," but also in organizing and leading on the working forces, and in raising the supplies—the money power for driving the machinery. And as there must always be leaders where men act together, so in such bodies these must be *found* rather than *appointed*, and their commissions must be in themselves—their fitness for their places being duly recognized by their associates.

Another conviction that the looker-on at the General Conference would be sure to carry away with him is, that the lay element is becoming a great power in the counsels and the work of Methodism. Such, indeed, it always has been, but that force is becoming developed and brought into working order. In the General Conference the lay element, in most individual cases, labors under the disadvantages of want of familiarity with the methods of the body, and also with the

details of the Church interests to be cared for. The former of these, however, has been pretty effectually overcome in the cases of those who have been in attendance during a number of successive sessions, and others have rapidly acquired the needed facility of action. And as to the latter, some of the laymen manifested remarkable readiness in dealing with the questions in hand, and, especially in the committees, contributed a fair share to the practical handling of the subjects to be dealt with. But the interesting point demonstrated is, that all over the land, even in the most distant parts, are found laymen who are ready to devote their time and labor and money for the sake of the Church, and who, simply as samples of a large and increasing class, are giving their studies and labors to the interests of religion.

In the proceedings of the Conference three subjects of special interest came into view: the work in the Southern States, and the race questions involved; the condition and administration of foreign missions; and the relations of the Church to the great moral issues of the times. Respecting the first of these, the Church has, all along, had a well-defined policy, to wit, that all its members shall stand upon an exact equality before its laws, and to this policy it has sought faithfully to conform its administration. But race prejudices are a social element of such far-reaching power that they cannot be altogether ignored. Accordingly, churches and conferences and schools have been organized virtually, if not in legal form, on the "color line," and to this arrangement both races have assented, while the Church, in its general administration, has accepted the fact, because those concerned desired it. But lest this form of administration might be construed as abridging the rights of some of the members of the Church in certain churches or institutions, it was broadly and emphatically declared "that this General Conference declares the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church to be, that no member of any society within the Church shall be excluded from public worship in any and every edifice of the denomination, and no student shall be excluded from instruction in any and every school under the supervision of the Church, because of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." "Mixed" churches and schools may not be the rule in practice, but if not, the

reason is not in the law, but the local administration accepted by both parties.

The subject of the foreign missions, their administration and their relations, present and prospective, to the home Church, was among the most important and interesting of those that came before the Conference, and it was not without its perplexities. Many of those missions have grown to such proportions that it is not an easy matter to administer their affairs, simply as missions, from the central office in New York.

Most of them have been constituted Annual Conferences, and this has rendered their administration in some things the more anomalous. In all these cases the missions and churches that make up such Annual Conferences also constitute a kind of national Methodism in their several countries. The whole tendency of their normal growth is to become individualized, and that would call for, first, autonomy, and then independent self-support. But for these, neither the missions nor the Church at home appeared to be ready. To meet the demands of the case, at least in part, it was proposed to fix episcopal residences in some of the foreign fields, a measure for which a clear majority of the Conference voted, but it failed by the dissent of a majority of the lay delegates, voting by orders. But even that was confessed by its supporters to be only a temporary expedient, while complete individualization and final organic separation was generally confessed to be the goal to which they must come at length. But it was doubted whether the time for that consummation had arrived, and therefore it was thought best to leave things substantially as they have been for four years more, with the full conviction that then something more decisive must be undertaken and executed.

Respecting the great moral questions of the day, Methodism has always been outspoken and ready to give its moral support to every good cause. Three of these now came under consideration—Temperance, the Sabbath, and Divorce—and on all of these plain and earnest words were spoken, and the chief council of the Church fully indorsed and emphasized the utterances of its pulpits and the press on these vastly important subjects. On all these a great fight is impending, and it is well that the voice of the highest assembly of the Church should have spoken out in no uncertain tones.

The publishing interests of the Church were, of course, reviewed, but no considerable changes were inaugurated. Financially, those interests appear to be in a decidedly satisfactory condition, more so than at any former General Conference; the work done also shows a large aggregate of books and periodicals produced and disposed of; and yet it is apparent that the growth of this department of the Church's work is not keeping pace with the progress of the Church itself, or of some others of its interests. No doubt Methodists are using a much larger portion of both books and periodicals not of our own press than was formerly the case—a fact perhaps not to be deprecated; and yet some were not satisfied that even this might not be made otherwise, to the advantage of both publishers and buyers and readers. Especially in the department of magazine literature, now grown to vast proportions in the general trade, except in the Sunday-school department almost nothing has been done for a long time by our publishers; and in the general book business there seems to be no adequate method in use for bringing the books, when published, within the reach of the public.

The Conference closed in good order, and with a pretty full quorum, at the end of the twenty-fourth day's session, (not counting Sundays,) with its work all done—an end that was accomplished only by rushing many things to a vote with undesirable, if not unnecessary, haste, and often without any adequate discussion. But this evil was really less than it seemed, since nearly every thing had been thoroughly examined and discussed in committee, and the Conference only confirmed what had been already settled by those who had fully considered it. And so the General Conference of 1884 passed into history. It was a good session, excellent in spirit, devout, orderly, (except through excess of vivacity,) exceedingly good-tempered, zealous for the good name and prosperity of the Church, intensely denominational but not narrowly sectarian, full of faith in the agencies of the Church, and largely hopeful as to its future.

## Art. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

### *American Reviews.*

American Catholic Quarterly Review, April, 1884. (Philadelphia.)—1. Plurality of Worlds; by Rev. J. De Concilio. 2. Nature of the Human Soul; by Rev. J. Ming, S.J. 3. Improvement in Parochial Schools; by Rev. H. A. Brann, D.D. 4. Waning Influence of the English Universities; by A. F. Marshall, B.M., Oxon. 5. The Mormon Question and the United States Government; by Bryan J. Clinche. 6. The Propaganda Question and Our Duty; by Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, L.D. 7. Life and Times of Frederic II.; by Prof. St. George Mivart, F.R.S. 8. Prince Bismarck's Conflict with the Catholic Church: by H. J. Henser. 9. The Coming Plenary Council of Baltimore; by John Gilmary Shea, LL.D. 10. Sociological Aspects of Christian Charity; by A. de G.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1884. (Oberlin, Ohio.)—1. The Divine Personality; by James H. Fairchild, D.D. 2. The Irrepressible Conflict, (of American Slavery;) by Dr. H. von Holst, Ph.D. 3. Heredity and Depravity; by Stuart Phelps, Ph.D. 4. The Messianic Views of Christ's Contemporaries; by Rev. Prof. George H. Schodde, Ph.D. 5. The Theology of Canon Mozley; by Charles F. Thwing. 6. The Inspiration of the Old Testament; by Rev. I. P. Warren, D.D. 7. The Prophets of Israel and Place in History to the Close of the Eighth Century B. C. Eight Lectures by W. Robertson Smith, LL.D; by Rev. Israel E. Dwinell, D.D. 8. Recent Evangelistic Movements in Great Britain and on the Continent; by Samuel Ives Curtis, D.D. 9. The Niagara Gorge as a Chronometer; by Rev. G. Frederic Wright. 10. Assyrian Research, and Hebrew Lexicon; by Prof. D. G. Lyon, Ph.D. 11. Exegetical Note—Translations of the Aorist Tense in the Indicative Mood—Dr. Ladd on Alleged Discrepancies and Errors of the Bible.

Catholic World, (Monthly,) April, 1884. (New York.)—1. The Workman and his Little Sister: by Kathleen O'Meara. 2. Bancroft's History of the United States; by R. H. Clarke, LL.D. 3. The Wisdom and Truth of Wordsworth's Poetry, (II;) by Aubrey de Vere. 4. By-ways; by Marion A. Taggart. 5. New Mexico and her Pueblos; by the Very Rev. J. H. Dufouri. 6. Armine, (Chaps. xxxix–xlii;) by Christian Reid. 7. An Impudent Fabrication Exposed; by Rev. George Dishow. 8. The Delicacy of Shakespeare; by R. M. Johnson.

May, 1884.—1. The Catholic Law of Marriage; by Rev. A. F. Hewit. 2. Hong-Kong; by H. Y. Eastlake. 3. Katharine, (Chapters i. ii;) by E. G. Martin. 4. Evolution in the Light of Recent Researches; by Cornelius O'Leary, M.D. 5. The Wisdom and Truth of Wordsworth's Poetry, (III;) by Aubrey de Vere. 6. Histories and Catechisms; by Monsignor Preston. 7. Spring in the North; by Margaret F. Sullivan. 8. Armine, (Chaps. xliii–xlvi;) by Christian Reid. 9. The Building of the Mountain; by William Seaton.

June, 1884.—1. Darwin's Mistake; by Rt. Rev. F. S. Chatord, D.D. 2. The New Flagelants; by Inigo Deane. 3. The "Leading Article" in English Journalism; by A. F. Marshall. 4. The Very Last Centenary of Protestant Isms: by Rev. Thomas J. Jenkins. 5. The Wisdom and Truth of Wordsworth's Poetry; (IV;) by Aubrey de Vere. 6. The Isle of Thanet and Its Straits; by M. P. Thompson. 7. My Espousals. 8. In and Around the Magdalen Islands; by A. M. Pope. 9. Katharine, (Chaps. iii, iv;) by E. G. Martin. 10. Religious Liberty, as Understood by the "Evangelical Alliance;" by Rev. George M. Searles. 11. Paul. From the Polish of H. Sienkiewiezlitwes; by W. R. Thompson. 12. Honest Protestants and the Public Schools; by Rev. Walter Elliot.

CHRISTIAN REVIEW, January, 1884. (Cincinnati.)—1. The New Testament Greek; by Pres. Chas. Louis Loos. 2. The Controversy Between Science and Religion; by Pres. W. K. Pendleton. 3. The New Testament Idea of Righteousness; by Robt. T. Matthews. 4. The Genuineness of the Pentateuch—W. Robertson Smith; by Thomas Munnell. 5. Christian Missions; by F. M. Green. 6. The Spirits in Prison, 1 Pet. iii, 19; by H. Christopher. 7. Reply to Clark Braden; by A. Wilford Hall. 8. The Revised English New Testament; by H. Turner.

April, 1884.—1. The New Testament Canon; by the Editor, (E. W. Herndon.) 2. Justification by Faith; by A. I. Hobbs. 3. The Holy Catholic Church; by C. Q. Wright. 4. Certain Infidel Objections Answered; by Clark Braden. 5. Can We Divide? by J. H. Garrison. 6. The Substantial Philosophy; by A. Wilford Hall. 7. The Doctrine of the Epistle to the Romans, (Chap. i, 16;) by I. B. Grubbs.

PRESBYTERIAN REVIEW, April, 1884. (New York.)—1. Rev. Dr. James Richards and his Theology; by Prof. Ransom B. Welch, D.D. 2. The Ontological Argument for the Divine Existence; by Prof. William T. Shedd, LL.D. 3. The Unity of the Apocalypse with Reference to Dr. Volter's Strictures; by Prof. Benj. B. Warfield, D.D. 4. The Consensus of the Reformed Confessions; by Prof. A. A. Hodge, D.D. 5. Dr. Stanton on Healing Through Faith; by Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D.D.

QUARTERLY REVIEW OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH, April, 1884. (Nashville, Tenn.)—1. The Witness of the Spirit; by Bishop H. N. M'Tyeire, D.D. 2. Method and Aim of Mathematical Physics; by W. B. Smith, Ph.D. 3. Women of Shakespeare; by Mrs. Lucia Porter Lander. 4. Unconscious Orthodoxy; by Rev. W. Harrison. 5. Early Christianity—How Propagated; by J. Thomas Pate. 6. Quixotism in Philosophy; by Rev. W. C. Black. 7. Rationale of Christian Atonement; by Rev. R. Abbey, D.D. 8. Manliness of the Pulpit; by Rev. F. M. Edwards. 9. Future Mission of Methodism; by Rev. J. B. Robbins. 10. Janet's Theory of Morals; by the Editor.

UNITARIAN REVIEW, AND RELIGIOUS MAGAZINE. June, 1884. (Boston.)—1. The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven; by Rev. W. R. Alger. 2. A Few More Words about Dr. Dewey; by Rev. Edward F. Hayward. 3. The Authority of our Faith; by Rev. Charles F. Dole. 4. Translations of Virgil; by M. Grant Daniel. 5. Twenty Years in the Life of a Queen; by Rev. Robert Collyer. 6. Mr. Cooke's George Eliot; by Rev. J. T. Sunderland.

BAPTIST QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, May, June, 1884. (Cincinnati.) 1. The Curse upon Nature; by Franklin Johnson, D.D. 2. Limitations of Taxation; by J. L. M. Curry, LL.D. 3. Emotional Excitement in Preaching; by H. F. Kerfoot, D.D. 4. Natural Law in the Spiritual World; by Wayland Hoyt, D.D. 5. The Moral Element in Providence; by Henry M. King, D.D. 6. Baptists and Liberty of Conscience—The English Baptists, 1644–1689. 7. Biblical Theology: Its Nature, Presuppositions, Methods, and Perils; by Prof. Albert H. Newman, LL.D.

The first article above named discusses a subject that is just now in a somewhat unsettled condition in the public mind. Men are doubting, and beginning to ask whether or not there is cause to believe that the "fall" was the direct occasion of any changes in the physical world. The affirmative side of this question has been the common doctrine of Protestantism from the beginning, and learned theological and biblical writers have given to it the authority of their names, and the aid of their learning and genius, and till comparatively

lately it would have been accounted almost a heresy to call it in question. But men who think independently are beginning to ask whether any, and if any, what, are the changes that came upon the material earth on account of Adam's transgression.

The old divines and commentators, who thought and wrote without the inconvenience of scientific facts to interfere with their theories, assumed that all sorrow and suffering in the animal world, and especially all deaths, were the fruits of Adam's sin. It is quite certain that Milton, who was simply the interpreter of the thought of his times, so presents the case in the opening lines of "Paradise Lost," assuming that by the "death" which was brought into the world by "the mortal taste" of the "forbidden tree" that of all and every species of animals is intended. It was also held that the convulsions of nature, earthquakes and volcanoes, floods and tempests, animal ferocity, the poison of serpents, and the stings of bees, thorns and thistles, toil and hunger, are facts in the world of which man's transgression was the procuring cause. But the demonstrations of natural science, and a better interpretation of Scripture, together with the more rational methods of thinking that distinguish our times, have largely interfered with these traditional beliefs. Men are now asking, What about these things? and, like the "more noble" Bereans, are searching the Scriptures to ascertain for themselves what they teach on this subject.

The above article is a result of this newly awakened spirit of inquiry, and it is evidently the utterance of a mind only halfway emancipated from the toils of traditional presuppositions. The writer sets out with the concession that physical suffering and death antedated man's transgression, and that almost absolutely certainly they were made sure to occur by the original creation of carnivorous animals, which certainly in the older geological era, untold ages before man, could live only by causing the death of other animals. The increase of animals by births also supposes the deaths of the older ones—by violence, or disease, or old age—and the history of this process of dying is written in clearly legible characters on the earth's tables of stone. To harmonize these things with the notion that all animal suffering must be the result of man's sin, we have the fanciful theory of anticipatory penalty—the infliction of the curse before the commission of the offense, and, indeed,

long ages before the offender was created—a theory favored by Dr. Bushnell, though perhaps not original with him, but whose genius imparted to it a glamour which seemed to hide its baselessness and absurdity. Any rational consideration of the subject must lead to the sure conviction that so much and such kind of suffering as pertains to the life and death of irrational animals existed long before the sin of Adam, and as certainly it is not in any possible way caused by it. And the old notion, that the convulsions of nature and all kinds of cosmical and meteorological disorders are in any way the result of Adam's transgression, (see Wesley's sermon on "The Restitution of all Things," and Fletcher's "Appeal,") must be dismissed as purely fanciful—the late lingering traces of the unreasoning superstition of the Dark Ages.

Two portions of Scripture are relied on as the sole authority in this case—Genesis iii, 17–19, the divine curse pronounced upon Adam; and Romans viii, 19–23, the humiliation and hope of "the creature." Respecting the former of these, the writer of the Review article concludes, (so far wisely,) that all the changes that occurred by which the curse was realized were not in the earth and nature, but in man himself, whose changed conditions, which his sin effected, so changed his relation to his environments that what had been a blessing became a curse. But when the writer comes to interpret the statement in Romans he is decidedly less successful. Here, no doubt, every thing depends on the sense of the word rendered "the creature," (κτίσις.) Of the many meanings given to that word, as used by St. Paul, by commentators and theologians, only two need be noticed: (1) that which refers it to the whole human race, aggregate MAN, and (2) that which makes it mean *Nature*, inert matter and irrational animal creation. Of these two the above writer accepts the latter, while we should, without any misgivings, take the former. So understood, St. Paul teaches that humanity (man) is waiting in "earnest expectation" for the divine manifestation which shall reveal its sonship with God, and that the divine will, in the mysterious dispensation of his goodness, subjected *man* to "vanity"—vicissitudes—through which his instinctive aspirations for immortality shall be realized; that for the time being universal humanity is travailing in the birth-throes by which it is to rise into a

higher life, and that even Christians, though born of the Spirit, are still in this transition, "waiting for the adoption." This is substantially the view taken by a large share of the very best commentators, both ancient and modern. Of the latter may be named, among others, Stuart and Hengstenberg. This interpretation, of course, entirely excludes any reference to the outer world, and saves the word "creature" from its unelevated application to merely brute-beasts—cattle.

In this subject is also involved the question of the nature of the penalty of sin threatened before the transgression, and realized through it—that is, *death*. Should it be understood as physical or spiritual? The former, no doubt, has been the faith of the Church, at least as it has been commonly received through nearly its entire history. But will it bear the clear light of the rational interpretation of Scripture? That spiritual death passed upon man in the day he sinned will not be doubted, and that from the death superinduced by sin, as stated by St. Paul, spiritual death must not be excluded, will also be granted; and if shut up to this alone, a well-rounded fullness of meaning is given to all that is predicated in the Scriptures referred to. Death was set forth as sure to occur upon the occurrence of the first transgression, and spiritual death certainly took place. The apostle declares that by that first offense sin entered into the world, bringing also death, which is certainly true as to spiritual death. Did that curse also include the death of the body?

This leads to the further inquiry, whether or not that transition of "the creature" (commonly called "death") by which the spiritual being—which is the only proper personality—becomes detached from its physical investiture, is a consequence of the "fall." In the article referred to there is a supposition that not improbably such a change was contemplated in man's original constitution, and that without sin man might have outgrown his earthly vestments, and by a painless process passed into a higher state; and this is substantially a granting that physical death was the original destination of Adam and all his posterity, and that not natural death itself, but its painful accidents, occur as the results of sin.

Bishop Foster's statement will not be called in question, that "all physical life is in its nature perishable, and wherever found

to exist, and as soon as it exists, and as an inseparable concomitant of its existence, it tends to extinction, and must inevitably, by the operation of its law, reach extinction. Nothing short of eternal miracle, set for the guardianship of each life, would guarantee its deathless continuance. When it shall succumb to the wastes and assaults of other unfriendly forces is only a question of limited time."

This is not a novel position, and to meet the demands of the case the necessary "eternal miracle" is supposed to be provided for in the "tree of life." It is assumed that the use of that tree was sacramental, of course effective *ex opere operato*, to overcome the natural flux of the body, or to repair its waste, not necessarily to render it intrinsically immortal, but by perpetually counteracting the natural tendencies to decay to effectually hinder dissolution.

But as has been said elsewhere, "this whole affair of the 'tree of life' has the appearance of an attempt at wisdom quite beyond the range of what is written. It is artificial and extra-scriptural, and seems to have been entertained only because it helps to solve, conjecturally, a difficult problem—made so by an unsupported theory—by putting an altogether unwarranted meaning into a doubtful passage of Scripture."

The subject calls for a fuller inquiry and a more elaborate discussion than it can here receive, and quite certainly it will receive such handling from some one, or many, in the near future. The questions involved are not between orthodoxy and heresy, but they are simply about the meaning of the words and phrases of Holy Scripture, and the trend of thought among evangelical Christians respecting the great problems of providence and grace—of God's eternal purposes in the redemption and glorification of "the creature"—man.

North American Review, April, 1884. (New York.)—1. Decline of American Shipping; by N. Dingley, Jr., M.C., and John Codman. 2. Shall our Civilization be Preserved? by Judge J. A. Jameson. 3. The Development of Religious Freedom; by Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff. 4. Changes of the Climate of North America; by Dr. Felix L. Oswald. 5. A Plea for Modern Languages; by Prof. C. A. Eggert. 6. Literature for Children; by Julian Hawthorne. 7. Recent Criticisms of the Bible; by the Rev. A. G. Mortimer and the Rev. Dr. R. H. Newton.

May, 1884.—1. Defective Naturalization Laws; by Justice William Strong. 2. Matthew Arnold; by Edwin P. Whipple. 3. A Zone of Worlds; by Richard A. Proctor. 4. The Railway and the State; by Gerrit L. Lansing. 5. Illustrations of Memory; by Prof. H. F. Osborn. 6. The Meaning of Song; by

Helen Kendrick Johnson. 7. Working-Men's Grievances; by William Godwin Moody and Prof. J. L. Laughlin.

June.—1. Harboring Conspiracy; by Prof. Henry Wade Rogers. 2. Lords of Industry; by Henry D. Lord. 3. The Struggle for Immortality; by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps. 4. Sociological Fallacies; by Prof. W. G. Sumner. 5. Rise and Fall of Authority; by President J. C. Welling. 6. Walt Whitman; by Walker Kennedy. 7. Expert Testimony; by Rossiter Johnson, and others.

July.—1. Juries and Jurymen; by Judge Robert C. Pitman. 2. American Economics; by Prof. Van Beuren Denslow. 3. Marriage and Divorce; by Justice Noah Davis. 4. The Annexation of Canada; by Dr. P. Bender. 5. Government Telegraphy; by Prof. D. M'G. Means. 6. Private Vengeance; by Charles T. Congdon. 7. The Future of the Negro; by Prof. C. A. Gardiner, and others.

In the last of the above articles we have what has, in other cases, been denominated a "symposium;" ten different writers, of widely different sentiments and modes of seeing the subject, discuss the negro problem, each from his own standpoint. Professor Charles A. Gardiner first gives some of the chief elements of the problem, the numerical increase of the race, their intellectual and moral improvement, and the certainty of their continuance, with wise and hopeful suggestions respecting their future. Senator John T. Morgan follows with a fire-eater's tirade against the negro and all who care for him, except as a beast of burden, with a general assumption that he is rapidly going to the bad. Frederick Douglass glances at the subject, recognizing its dangers, but still hoping, though apparently against hope. Senator Vance, of North Carolina, writes in a much better spirit than his colleague from Alabama, refers in uncomplimentary terms to his political associations, but indulges in no prophecies. Joel Chandler Harris writes learnedly, perhaps wisely, and suggests considerations that all parties may well consider. Professor R. T. Greener treats the subject from the stand-point of an educated colored man; confirms its difficulties and suggests things needed, and is on the whole hopeful. Oliver Johnson is characteristically positive and hopeful, because he assumes that the negro will vindicate his claims to respect, which in due time will be freely awarded. General Armstrong, of the Hampton School, writes discreetly, hopefully, yet not wholly with assurance. J. H. Walworth and J. A. Emerson, speaking for their race, express strong confidence in their future.

All who allude to the subject agree that there is no reason that the colored population of the country is at all likely to become relatively less than it now is, and not unlikely large parts

of the old slave States will become very largely Africanized. All agree that the less they have to do with politics the better for themselves and their race. Respecting the natural results of miscegenation, which all deprecate, there is wide disagreement. Our own view is not in accordance with that usually so confidently assumed, that the intermingling of races tends to physical, mental, or moral deterioration. It is quite plain that the wisest men find themselves entirely at a loss as to what is to come out of the whole thing. But *the Lord reigns.*

We are not, however, compelled to wait, building our hopes entirely upon our faith in what the Lord will bring about in some unthought-of way. That transition from slavery to freedom has been made, and its immediate results belong to history, and these have largely justified the hopes of those who sought for the destruction of slavery. That the physical condition of the negroes in freedom is not worse than it was in slavery is proved by the rapid increase of the ratio of births over deaths; and that their labor has not become less valuable is shown by the statistics of production in the South. Both of these facts make it probable that there has not been any marked moral deterioration, and other patent facts and statistics confirm this view. That, on the whole, the intellectual status of the race is higher after twenty years of freedom than at any previous time is perhaps universally conceded, and certainly it cannot be denied. No doubt the Africo-American is very far from being an absolutely perfect being; it may even be granted that his intellectual and moral status is a low one, and yet it need not be concluded that he is worse than others in like conditions, and that some decided advancement has been made toward improvement.

JOURNAL OF CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHY, April, 1884. (New York.) — 1. Reason and Revelation; by A. J. F. Behrens, D.D. 2. The Resurrection of Christ an Historical Fact; by Prof. Benjamin B. Warfield, D.D. 3. Prayer and Miracle in Regard to Natural Law; by Rev. L. W. Bacon. 4. ΔΙΔΕΚΑ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, ΝΥΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΕΚΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΗ ΥΠΟ ΦΙΛΟΘΕΟΥ ΒΡΥΕΝΝΙΟΥ, ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΙΑΣ. 5. Teaching of the Twelve Apostles. (Translation;) by Prof. S. Stanhope Orris, Ph.D. 6. The Genuineness, Priority, Source, and Value of "The Teaching;" by J. Rendel Harris, M.A. 7. The Phraseology of "The Teaching," as an Index of its Age; by Isaac H. Hall, LL.B. 8. Comments on "The Teaching;" by Elijah R. Craven, D.D. 9. Sources of Christian Archæology; by A. L. Frothingham, Jr.

It will be seen that a large share—Articles IV to VIII, inclusive—is devoted to the newly discovered Greek MS. called

"The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." Articles IV and V, the former the Greek text and the latter a translation, occupy opposite pages, so presenting at a glance the original and its equivalent in English. The next three articles, VI, VII, VIII, each by a different author, discuss the document in relation to the several points by which its character and value must be determined. That their work is well and ably done the reputations of the writers is a guarantee, and "The Teaching," under their inquest, is shown to be an exceedingly valuable "find," almost certainly genuine, in tone and substance very nearly akin to the apostolical writings, a catholic epistle in its character, and quite in harmony with the undoubtedly canonical epistles. It is the most valuable discovery of its class since that of the Codex Sinaiticus by Tischendorf, and its discovery suggests the thought that further researches through the libraries of the Orient may lead to other equally valuable revelations. Two results may be anticipated as pretty sure to come out of such further unearthing of ancient authorities: (1) that the notion of the exceptional purity of the average Christians of the early Church will scarcely be maintained; and (2) the claim that a certain arrangement of ministerial orders is of apostolic origin, and was fully recognized as of divine appointment in the earliest ages of the Church, will not be confirmed by their "teaching."

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## *English Reviews.*

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, April, 1884. (London.)—1. Perfect Sanctification; by Rev. Prof. Croskery, (Magee College, Londonderry.) 2. Theories of the Atonement, "Moral Influence," and "Satisfaction;" by Rev. R. G. Balfour, (Edinburgh.) 3. Studies in Scottish Ecclesiastical Biography: Professor Simson, the Glasgow Heresiarch; by Rev. C. G. M'Crie, (Ayr.) 4. The Lake of Geneva, and its Literary Associations; by Rev. Hugh Macmillan, D.D., LL.D., (Greenock.) 5. Professor Max Müller on the Origin and Growth of Religion; by Prof. S. H. Kellogg, D.D., (Alleghany, Pa.) 6. Theories of Inspiration; by Alvah Hovey, D.D., (Newton, Mass.) 7. Some Race Problems in China; by J. A. P.

British Quarterly Review, April, 1884. (London.)—1. Mechanical Philosophy. 2. Frederick Denison Maurice. 3. Father Curci and the Vatican. 4. The House of Lords since 1832. 5. Dictionary Making, Past and Present. 6. Housing the Industrial Classes. 7. Non-Conformity and the Universities—Free Churches and a Theological Faculty.

EDINBURGH REVIEW OR CRITICAL JOURNAL, April, 1884. (Leonard Scott Publishing Company, Philadelphia.) — 1. Memoirs of Lord Lyndhurst. 2. Stephens's History of the Criminal Law. 3. The Chronicle of James I. of Aragon. 4. Green's Conquest of England. 5. The Scottish Universities. 6. Heth and Moab. 7. The Unity of Nature; by the Duke of Argyll. 8. Sayce's Herodotus. 9. The Coming Reform—Egypt.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, (Wesleyan.) April, 1884. (London.)—1. Through Materialism to Idealism: by Frederic Albert Lange. 2. The Monastic Knights. 3. Drummond's Natural Law in the Spiritual World. 4. Renan's Recollections of his Youth. (Translated from the French.) 5. Bishop Martensen. 6. East Anglia. 7. The Salutation of the Risen Son. 8. Egypt.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, April, 1884. (Leonard Scott Publishing Co., Philadelphia.)—1. The Samson-Saga, and the Myth of Herakles. 2. The Censorship of the Stage. 3. Lord Lyndhurst. 4. Representation and Misrepresentation. 5. The Queen's Latest Book. 6. Co-operation or Spoliation. 7. Codification of English Law: a Retrospect and a Prospect. Independent Section: Compulsory Vaccination. Contemporary Literature: (1) Theology. (2) Philosophy. (3) Politics, Sociology, Voyages and Travels. (4) Science. (5) History and Biography. (6) Belles-Lettres. India and Our Colonial Empire.

## *German Reviews.*

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN, (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1884. Third Number.—*Essays:* 1. USTERI, Calvin's Doctrine of the Sacrament and Baptism. 2. USTERI, The Position of the Strasburg Reformers, Bucer and Capito, to the Question of Baptism. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. SCHULTZ, A Modern Apologetic Question in the Ancient Garb. 2. FRANKE, 2 Cor. vi, 14–vii, 1, and the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. v. 9–13. 3. KOLDEWEY, The First Effort for a Justification of the Bigamy of the Landgrave Philip of Hesse. 4. BUCHWALD, The Conflict of Luther with the Wittenberg Chapter, 1523–24. *Reviews:* 1. CREMER, Theological Dictionary of the New Testament Greek; Reviewed by Grimm. 2. KOLDE, Analecta Lutherana; Reviewed by Knaake. 3. KOLDE and KOLDEWEY, Publications of the Society for the History of the Reformation, Nos. 1 and 2; Reviewed by Kawerau. 4. A Circular Letter of the Supreme Protestant Consistory of Berlin, Concerning the Revision of the Luther Bible.

The entire body of this number of the Review is absorbed by two articles by Usteri, a Protestant pastor of Switzerland in the Canton of Zürich. That so much space is given to the one subject of the baptismal teachings of the early reformers is a striking proof of the deep hold that the ceremony of baptism has taken on the German heart. This ordinance of the Church may be said to have been at one time almost universal with the German nature, whether Christian or unchristian. And one who has lived for a time among them, and had an opportunity to see the inside of their social life, will find that parents who will reject every other Christian practice and ceremony still cling to this first one of the early Christians. Especially among

the poorer classes the fear is so great that the new-born child may die without the performance of the ceremony, that an unseemly haste is often exhibited in hurrying the tender infant to the baptismal font, that its claim on future salvation may not be forfeited by any dilatory action on the part of the parents. And there are cases on record where, in instances of difficult and dangerous parturition, involving a risk to the life of the yet new-born child, a species of ante-natal baptism has been performed.

And the popular heart has clung no more closely to this religious ceremony than have the various teachers of the Church at and since the period of the Reformation. Usteri finds it, therefore, fitting and advisable to give two articles on this subject. The first is devoted to the doctrine of Calvin concerning baptism, and the second to the position of the Strasburg Reformers and Zwingli. We can, of course, but simply touch the main points discussed in each case. One of the deepest thoughts of Calvin is that baptism is the sacrament of incorporation into Christ, with a share in all his wealth of grace. And this feature is not entirely wanting to Zwingli, but is brought out on the occasion of the baptism of Jesus by John. In the earlier and later writings of Zwingli, parallels for the most part of the doctrines of Calvin may be found, in so far as they illustrate the value of the sacrament as a symbolical representation, and not of a grace-imparting character in the narrower sense. Zwingli's dualism was opposed to the acknowledgment of the latter. Calvin clung closely to the double idea of baptism, which he called the "*Mortificatio* and the *Ablutio*." He claimed that baptism is a *symbolum veritatis*, namely, a symbol of truth that Christ shed his blood for us. With Zwingli, baptism is more a reference to Christ with a moral aim. With Calvin, on the contrary, it is a testimony and accompanying seal of the entrance into Christ, through grace and faith, and the participation in all his gifts. According to Zwingli it is a symbolical guide from the outer court of the senses into the inner sanctuary of a life of grace. Calvin abolishes this dualism, and makes the sacrament belong to the sanctuary of the revelation of God, which, so to say, has its spirit and its body, its internal and its external side. It is nothing else than the external, but, therefore, not less divine, manifestation of

that which grace will internally effect for the practice and the strengthening of the faith.

The correspondence between the Strasburg theologians and Zwingli touches the baptismal question as early as 1524. In a publication of this date Bucer declares it to be a great error to ascribe such effect to water baptism as to assert that unbaptized children are lost. He declares that a difference must be made between baptism with water and baptism with the Spirit: the former is simply the baptism of man, and is a mere symbol, while the latter is the baptism of Christ. In this sense the baptism of John and that of the apostles was alike; and here Bucer refers to Acts, 2d and 19th chapters, as to the character of the two baptisms. As to the water baptism, Bucer declares that it is performed in the name of Christ, or with the formula of the Trinity. Even the apostles, he says, distinguish sharply between the two kinds of baptism; Peter, for example, speaking of the saving power of baptism, declares that it is not alone an ablution from the filth of the flesh; while Paul points to it as an act of faith, and Titus as a renewal of the Holy Ghost. The entire tendency of the two lengthy articles is in sympathy with the modern inclination of German theologians, namely, that baptism by man is an external and very advisable ceremony, but not an indispensable one to the salvation of the soul.

The circular letter of the Supreme Consistory of Berlin regarding the revision of the Luther Bible shows us how carefully and thoroughly they perform matters of this kind in Germany. The revision of the Old Testament was begun in 1871, by a commission of seventeen members, to perform this great and important work in eighteen conferences, each having from eight to ten sessions. A commission consisting of ten members for the revision of the New Testament was formed in 1865, and finished its work in 1870. A complete revision of the Old Testament was published by a Bible House in Halle, to which was added the revision of the New Testament, and the entire revision has been published under the title of the "Proof-Bible." It was a unanimous wish of all concerned in the revision and the printing of this new Bible that it should have the advantage of the judgment and the emendation of biblical scholars of all shades and specialties. It is

hoped that the judgments thus obtained may be of great interest and value; and therefore the Supreme Consistory at Berlin sends out this circular letter to all biblical scholars, praying that they may, at as early date as possible, send in the alterations and emendations that they suggest, that these may be considered and read for a third time by the Commission. This final revision will then be performed by sections, and finally in a full conference, so that every possible means will be adopted and all scholarly investigation be called into activity, with a view to make this revised Luther Bible as perfect as possible. The Supreme Consistory hopes by this mode to obtain the Word of God in a translation so perfect that it will form a mighty bond for the unity of German Protestant Christendom.

## *French Reviews.*

Revue Chretienne, (Christian Review,) February, 1884.—1. Pressensé, Response to Prof. Bouvier. 2. Viguié, Zwingli. 3. Roehrich, On the Way. 4. Nyegaard, English Chronicle. 5. Vinard, The Path. 6. Richemond, Bibliographical Notices. Reviews of the month by Pressensé.

March, 1884.—1. Hollard, The Sabbath. 2. Boegner, A New History of Coligny. 3. St. André, The Conquest of Africa. Monthly Review by Pressensé.

April, 1884.—1. Hollard, The Sabbath. 2. Astié, The Fear of the Protestant Principle in the Ranks of French Protestantism. 3. Alone, Switzerland and its Poets. 4. Ménégoz, The Baptism of Children in Accordance with the Principles of Pauline Theology. 5. L. R., Biographical Notices. Review of the month by E. de Pressensé.

Since M. de Pressensé has become a member of a French Senate, the cream of the *Revue* will often be found in his monthly review of French political and social questions, in which he is not always in harmony with his religious and political friends. He is quite inclined to live up even to a bad law until it can be carefully and legally modified, and thus, for instance, he is now virtually supporting the Concordat because of the *quasi* protection that some of its provisions afford to French Protestants as well as to French Catholics. In the February number he touches with much spirit on the social problem in the reception that it lately met in the Chamber of Deputies. A Commission of Inquiry had been formed, with orders to report on the matter, with a view to some general discussion

before the Chambers, and Pressensé found it amusing as well as embarrassing to notice the different remedies proposed according to the different shade of politics of the Reporter.

To commence with the infinitely little, the Protectionists' Party declared that the problem would be solved and every thing settled if heavy duties were imposed: a good Custom-house on the frontier would suffice to settle the matter. The Royalists' Party, represented by one of its champions, had simply this advice to give: "Take my king, and all will be saved." That portion of the Right which is still more Catholic than Royalist, especially since the death of the Count de Chambord, says: "Re-establish the power of the Holy Church, restore the old working corporations placed under its influence, and you will see again to flourish the golden age of the ancient monarchy." To which M. Frédéric Passy, one of the most distinguished of French economists, replied, by reminding the members of the character of this golden age, with the exception of a few privileged ones, namely, that the mass of the nation was deadened by poverty and ignorance while supporting the weight of the social edifice and paying with the sweat of its brow the gold that the king lavished on his favorites. M. Passy showed the unfavored condition of the working classes of our day in education and well-being. The President of the Council, in a labored discourse, presented a programme of the reforms immediately possible, and pointed out what part the government can take for the relief of the present suffering by the execution of great public works, which he strongly recommended.

M. Clémenceau, the Radical leader, touched all the social problems without casting much light on any of them, and leaving without immediate remedy a sum of sufferings and inequalities which are so much the more keenly felt because the progress of instruction has been more rapid. It is true, this progress increases the means of acquiring ease; but when this latter does not come with it, the privations are thereby made more painful. The civil equality now possessed by all sharpens the aspirations for social equality. The Republican Deputies who took part in this grave discussion insisted with reason, some on the necessity of hastening the reform of the imposts, still very unequally divided, and others on the development of the

principle of co-operation. The State Socialism, which would confine the social reform to the central power, and impose on it a system of colossal alms, did not find many representatives in the present Chamber. It therefore resulted from this peculiar debate, that the official world of France is very far from being as much imbued with the spirit of socialism as were the Republican assemblies of 1848. The chasm in this regard is very great between the present assembly and the working class, which it does not truly represent. This chasm can only be filled by a moral force which the politics of the day does not give, and by a genuine love for the weak and the suffering, combined with a spirit of justice and of liberty.

Pressensé seems to think that the only power that can solve the problem is, that love and pity for the multitude that was shown in olden time by the great Master when he fed the hungry, healed the sick, and encouraged the downcast. In this way, he believes, may come from the Church an inspiration which shall lead to the solution of the social question. But even what he has to say, although excellent as far as it goes, has a certain vague and unsatisfactory character that leaves the question about where it was found. Thus the many heads of France seem still incapable of doing more than presenting individual and conflicting opinions, with but little hope of arriving at harmony.

It is very certain that the Protestant Churches of France have nothing to expect or hope from the present dominant party, which seems quite ready to restrict its liberties and withhold its subsidies. It is to be hoped that in this crisis the Protestants will comprehend their present duty, and follow the wise counsels given to them by one of the most faithful friends of the Reformed Church in the conclusion of an admirable lecture which we find in the monthly review of the April number on "Christian Activity in the Bosom of French Protestantism." It is by M. Castelnau, on the separation of Church and State, and is so good and pointed that we must give it in his own words:

> Some years ago this question would have been for us a fearful crisis; but to-day, if it is done without injustice, we shall find ourselves on the morrow what we were on the eve of the event, and we shall gladly pay for our independence. The material

condition of this independence is, in fact, a Synodal Treasury, the common fund of our churches, and the visible sign of their solidarity; our budget of worship destined to supplement the growing defections of the budget of the State, and take its place at the hour of separation. When our flock shall understand the influential role of the Synodal Treasury the Church will be the mistress of its own destiny.

Let us not be deceived in this matter; the separation is commencing now by the finances, and it will not stop there. Let us learn to do our business for ourselves, if we do not wish it to be done without us and against us. After all, to take charge of one's own affairs, and to depend in matters of religion only on God and one's own conscience and devotion, is the very essence of Protestantism, and was and is to be yet its glory. Let us not imagine that because the national flag still floats over our churches we may go to sleep in a deceitful security. No! above all, no illusion! Illusion, for many churches, would be death. And at the same time, let there be no fears and no discouragements; do not listen to those who say to you that if the State were to withhold its purse our churches would be lost. What! can we French Protestants not do what is done by the English, the Scotch, the Swiss, the Americans, and even the Irish Catholics? Can we not do what our brothers of the *Eglises Libres* are doing at our very doors? Can we not pay—we whose fathers could die? By what right, I pray you, is this insult cast into the face of our churches? As for me, who have hastily passed over their works, very far from speaking to you of discouragement, I wish more than ever to speak to you of hope. We are entering upon a crisis, but it depends on us only to make this crisis our salvation. Let us learn to look it manfully in the face! Let us make our Protestant people touch this peril with the finger, and let us all work with one heart under the eye of God for the progress of the Gospel and the elevation of our churches through their synods. In this, gentlemen, there is a strength which we do not yet seem to suspect. We are at the beginning of this conflict, and the impulse is yet scarcely given; let us wait and fortify our hearts.

If at the commencement of the century, when our Church counted scarcely 130 pastors and not a church in activity, not any one whatever, then when there reigned around it only silence and oblivion, a voice had arisen to announce that in 70 years French Protestantism would have 1,200 pastors, would perform the works that we have seen, would give for its faith and for those who suffer many millions per year, and would re-establish the synodal *régime* for which our fathers had so long sighed in vain—I ask you, who would have believed it? Who would not have charged this strange prophecy with mad enthusiasm? But nevertheless this prophecy has been realized, God be praised! and thus will be realized the hope to which I, to-day, invite you.

Brothers, let us then rejoice and return thanks! Let us think of what we were and of what we now are. No discouragement, no faint-heartedness. Let our hearts beat high, high above all fear and distrust, very high above all littleness and unwholesome zeal for the spirit of sect or party. Let us work with those who work, let us love with those who love, let us pray with those who pray, let us hope with those who hope. The future belongs to the eternal God.

## Art. XI.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

### PROTESTANT WORK IN SPAIN.

A leading German Protestant of Stuttgart recently made a visit to Spain, with a view of there studying the present evangelizing work in its various phases, and in an extended report gave a very interesting account of the activity of foreign Protestant workers on Spanish soil. In the north-eastern section of the land an American mission, led by Mr. Thomas Gulick, of Boston, supports eleven churches. In nine cities there are regular pastors or evangelists; while two cities, though without their own pastors, have regular meetings. The expense of supporting these amounts to about $20,000 yearly, which passes through the hands of a brother of the above, now stationed in San Sebastian. In his report of the work he declared that fifteen or twenty years ago he would not have thought of urging the Spaniards to support the mission from their own means, but that now he endeavors to take collections from the congregations, though the members are nearly all of the poorer classes. In Valladolid a worthy English gentleman by the name of Armstrong commenced the work of evangelization in 1870 by forming a congregation. This work has already extended to nine centers, which together count 120 Church members and about 80 children in a school taught by a Spanish teacher. In Seville, where the Inquisition once had its principal seat, we find the only churches for Protestants in Spain; the other buildings are merely chapels or prayer-rooms. The pastor of the principal one of these churches is supported by a Scotch Committee, and the congregation numbers about 140 members. The minister of a second congregation is maintained by the Anglican Church, and still a third church is in possession of the Protestants, as is a chapel in the suburbs. Four hundred children are reported to be in the Protestant schools of Seville.

In Cadiz and Xeres there are small Protestant congregations, ranging from 9 to 45 members, with 150 school children in all. The pastors of these are supported by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. This body also sustains a school of 150 children in Puerto. This is a sea-port and a very important city, to which has been transferred the English Seminary for the training of teachers and preachers.

In Malaga there are 130 enrolled members, with 100 communicants and about 200 school children, all supported by the Anglican Church. There are three principal Protestant congregations in Barcelona, of which the most effective one is controlled by a Swiss Committee of Lausanne, and whose preacher is said to speak Spanish better than any other of the foreign clergy. Auberlen gives it as his decided opinion that the Protestant work would be very weak were it not for the foreign teachers. The Spaniards have not in themselves the strength and enterprise to carry on the work without direction and aid. He thinks that of the many school children a very small proportion will be likely to grow up into genuine Protestant Church members. On the whole, his judgment is not very encouraging in regard to the children.

## THE WORSHIP OF THE SAINTS IN ITALY.

When the United Kingdom of Italy was formed, and Rome became its capital, the government and local authorities in a great many sections adopted various measures with a view to confine the celebration of the saints within the churches, and to put an end to all noisy and pomp ous celebrations in public. The first step to be taken in this direction was to prevent all state officials from taking any official part in the ceremony, and for a time there was comparatively little outward show in Italy of the saint-worship of the churches. But for the last few years the ceremonies are again gaining ground in public, while the rescripts and regulations are being forgotten. Of late many of the patron saints have their former noisy festivals, which crowd out all regular religious service, and at which many of the civil authorities again appear. We quote a few examples as illustrations. In Modena two pretended martyrs are worshiped as patron saints. In the financial report of the city is an entry entitled "Expenses for participation of the City Council in the festival of the patron saints." For years this entry did not appear, but in January last public opinion pressed so hard on the city authorities that they were forced to introduce the former customs and "respect tradition." Quite a bill was incurred for the purpose of obtaining new gala uniforms, at the expense of the city, in honor of said saints. The second example may be found in the city of Catania, in Sicily, which boasts of the honor of possessing the body of Saint Agatha, who protects the city as a patron saint. Her festival is one of a very magnificent character, in which the worldly and the spiritual meet in strange medley. The silver coffin of the saint is borne along in solemn procession, while crowds of men and women, clad in long white robes, follow it with loud cries and fantastic demonstrations. These festivities, that last for about a week, resemble the Saturnalia and the Bacchanalia of the ancient Romans. After some years of absence the city authorities appeared at the last one in February. The municipal buildings were adorned with immense figures and wax tapers, and the councilors, clothed in gay garbs, took part in the procession. We need scarcely say that this

return to the Saturnalia by the Church is regarded with apprehension by the general government.

## THE JEWISH QUESTION IN GERMANY.

Although we hear of but few external conflicts in Germany with the Jews, there is, nevertheless, no actual truce between the combatants; the strife is being waged on a deeper basis. A great many German Publicists are in the field, some discussing the atheistic character of the anti-Semitic leaders, and others attacking even Luther for having given the Jewish Bible to the people as a means of advancing the Reformation. One author still harps upon the question of the biblical proof of shedding virgin blood in sacrifice. To him and his school Delitzsch replies in a work, entitled "Latest Visions of the Anti-Semitic Prophet," in which he proves that no assertion of this kind can be found. Here, even, three Catholic theologians enter the field, decidedly contesting such a translation of any real or supposed book of the Bible. Dr. Lehnhardt gives us a very good review of the progress of the anti-Semitic movement. He acknowledges that though its course is now quiet its channel is very deep. His remedy for the trouble is mixed marriage of Jews and Christians, in which he would find the only means of reconciliation between the two opposing elements.

A new field of activity is found in the so-called "Institutes" of the students in many of the universities. These societies have been formed at Leipzig, Halle, Erlangen, Breslau, Berlin, and other cities. A young theologian is a special enthusiast in this work, endeavoring to awaken among Christians a mission zeal and activity for Israel. The Leipzig Institute is now engaged in publishing pamphlets on the Jewish question.

In the midst of this war with the pen, the feeling in the Jewish camp seems at present divided; yet those writers seem best to reach the ear of the Jewish multitude who speak quieting words to them, and encourage their self-consciousness. An anonymous pamphlet, entitled "Why Do We Not Embrace Christianity?" has obtained no hearing among them. The common complaint is cast into their faces from every direction, that of the labor that all nations have to perform they are sure to choose the most agreeable and profitable. The statistics of the Jews of Berlin show that while eight per cent. of them enter the so-called liberal professions, eighty-five per cent. enter commercial callings, and the merest fraction thus adopt manual labor for a support. Or, while, according to the number of Jews in Breslau, 2,000 should enter the elementary schools, only 500 of them are there, while the remaining 1,500 enter the higher schools; three fourths of the entire number, therefore, press into the higher occupations. Another very unacceptable fact is the immigration of Jews from abroad into Prussia. So many of these come from Posen and other outlying districts to Berlin, that they form at least one fourth of the entire Jewish population of the capital. A large number of these foreign Jews seem to come simply to make rapid and

prosperous commercial ventures, and then retire. The social and intellectual growth of that great city thus clearly depends largely on the development of the Jewish question, which will certainly remain a very active one, and a very caustic and dangerous one, for some time to come.

## CITY MISSION WORK ABROAD.

There is a wonderful activity in the line of city mission work in several European capitals, whose pastors and zealous laymen are waking up to the fact that the mass of the people will not crowd into the State churches, and that if they are to be reached at all by Christian effort they must be pursued. The famous court preacher of Berlin, Dr. Stöcker, is proving to be a noble leader in this aggressive Christianity. He acknowledges that the German capital has but few Christian congregations, churches, and preachers, and calls on the city mission work to supply these needs. He appeals not to the state, but to the people, for money, and generally finds by the end of the year that providential gifts make his accounts even. He began with a comparatively small yearly demand, but last year pleaded for $25,000, and received very nearly that sum. He has workers visiting individuals and families, and reports about 60,000 visits annually. The number of the children in the mission Sunday-schools has increased to over 3,000, and the individual assemblies of young people and adults have grown very noticeably. The enterprise is now extending its work to the suburbs, and Dr. Stöcker is calling for 100 city missionaries. When the individual missionary work was begun, a few years ago, the workers were received with rudeness, or even insult; now they report no coarse words, and declare the hatred toward the Church to be rapidly disappearing. The best proof of the influence exerted is shown in the increased number of marriages and baptisms, the percentage of these being far greater than in other German cities to which this mission work has not extended. Their mode of operation is seen in the increased activity of the clergy, in the extension of the system of deaconesses, and in the publication of circulars, appeals, and tracts of the Evangelical Association, of which their last report gives the following figures: 60,246 tracts, 161,403 sermons, 5,403 subscriptions to religious periodicals, especially the very popular and excellent "Berlin Sunday Journal." The society during the last year sold 225 Bibles, gave away 78, sold 1,045 New Testaments, gave away 583, and gave and sold about 8,000 Prayer-books. Small as this report may seem to us, who have long cherished this work in our great cities, it is large and encouraging for those to whom the work is new, and in the city where infidel and atheistic tendencies are so rife and aggressive among the masses.

## Art. XII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The latest work of Padre Curci, who was some time ago expelled from the Order of Jesus, but who still claims to be a priest, is very severe on the Pope. It is entitled "The Vatican Desiring a Royal Throne:—A Worm Still Gnawing Within the Catholic Church." Curci declares that the peculiar misfortune of the papacy and papal Church is the desire to continue the temporal power, because the loss of this now places the Pope in the highly undignified attitude of a pretender. The present condition of the Christian Church, he urges, will no longer tolerate such commingling of powers; and so long as the Vatican will not cease these claims, so long will it fail to possess the sympathy of the noblest spirits among the Catholics themselves, and will prepare for itself humiliation after humiliation from the direction of the secular powers. Curci dedicates his work to the young clergy and the thoughtful laical world. To such laymen and priests Curci may do much good through his book, for they can draw from it many good lessons. In former times the laymen found a pleasure in seeing the priests rich and powerful, clothed in purple and fine linen, sparkling with precious stones, and driving like lords in magnificent coaches, with proud lackeys. To-day, fortunately, the intelligent world finds no pleasure in such displays, but rather despises and condemns them. Such clergy as Curci would train up—rich in knowledge, modesty, and feeling—are those that are not wanted by the papacy of to-day; and consequently the Vatican condemns this book and curses this keen and courageous old man in the most caustic terms.

In view of the above, a very timely publication is the "History of the Index Expurgatorius," by Professor Reusch, of Bonn. It is highly interesting to follow this historian in his investigation of the catalogues of forbidden books in all Catholic countries. In the first class of the *Index* are the authors whose entire writings are condemned; some of these are innocent jurists, who perhaps in only one single instance had censured the canonical law of marriage; or they are authors of lexicons and grammars, who through typographical errors or some misunderstanding have made themselves unacceptable. There are some special investigations as to the position in the *Index* of men like Savonarola, Macchiavelli, and Boccaccio. Among the details are to be found, the history of the suit of the Inquisition against the Archbishop Carranza of Toledo, on account of his *Cathecismo Cristiano*, and the discussion of the Ten Rules of the *Index* of Trent. This is claimed to be the first book published in regard to the famous *Index*, on which it throws a good deal of light.

In truth, Catholicism is receiving rather more than its due meed of attention in the publications of the day, a fact that shows how keen is the public appreciation of the ecclesiastical situation. Professor

Nippold, who has just been promoted from Berne to Jena, has lately published the second volume of his "Manual of Modern Church History." The first volume, published three years ago, contained the introduction to the Church History of the nineteenth century; this second volume gives the History of Catholicism since the restoration of the papacy. The story of this is neither more nor less than the increasing power of the Order of Jesus, and the progressive permeation of the Catholic Church with the spirit of Jesuitism within and without; the assumption and extension of power in the line of temporal rule; with a state policy that ever fails in the means and rarely reaches the goal. The author brings to light many facts and arguments which prove that the Vatican is threatening the Christian world and its missionary efforts with much danger. The author, who possesses a comprehensive knowledge of facts, gives us not simply a mere collection of these, but extends his observations to the more deeply-lying causes that produce events, and the impulses that control their course.

Heinrich Atte's "Archæology of Christian Art" is a well-known and highly esteemed work. It has been growing on his hands for many years, and in 1877, by the conflagation of his home, he lost in a few hours the weary labors, collections, and books that formed his fund of treasures for a revised edition of his work. But notwithstanding his age and physical exhaustion, he determined to go again through the labors of a new and enlarged edition, and this he now gives to the world. He divides it into sections, headed "The Church Edifice," "The Internal Arrangement and Adornment of the Churches," "Church Heraldry," etc. These are merely the central points around which he groups the most manifold subdivisions. The bewildering mass of details indicates an admirable diligence, a thorough collecting, and a careful sifting and working of the whole. The profoundest student can here hardly be left in doubt in regard to any question. The first impression of the reader, as the last, is astonishment at the bee-like industry of the author. From this minute perfection of details, we need scarcely say that the work is not adapted to the mere *dilettante* of Christian art. And for a like reason it is no mere guide for the beginner in the study of Christian archæology. But for the advanced student, it forms an inestimable fund of this species of knowledge, and is an indispensable manual for his investigations.

A new oriental journal, bearing the title of "Journal for Cuneiform Studies and Filial Subjects," has been begun by two orientalists of the University of Munich, which promises to be a very useful adjunct in this line of learned investigation. It is published quarterly, and bears a somewhat international character, in so far as it is intended for investigators of the Arrow-head Inscriptions in France, England, and our own country. The text will be mainly German, but the editors propose to give articles in the English and French languages, and also in Italian. To judge from the contents of the specimen number, the best

representatives of this line of study will appear in its pages and contribute to its success. Among the authors in this number, we find the names of Schrader, Guiard, Sayce, Appart, Halévy, and others. The Journal promises, according to the articles announced in its Prospectus, to give monographic descriptions of the west Asiatic religions, art, and culture, paying most attention to the Babylonian and Assyrian and Christo-theological interests. If it carries out its programme, it will be a very desirable scientific adjunct to its older colleague in Germany, namely, "The German Oriental Journal for Egyptology."

The Rector of the German and Swiss school in Constantinople publishes an interesting monogram in the archives of Christian art of 1884, entitled "A Subterranean Byzantine Church." This proves to be the narrative of a very interesting "*find*," which he has made a few miles eastward from ancient Chalcedon, on the shore of the Sea of Marmora, in the coast region of Bithynia. It is a description of a hillock of refuse and earth covering a small church with a low cupola on a quadrangular site. It is surrounded by four halls covered with arches which terminate at the four corners in little chapels with small domes. An oblong court leads into the little church, which is destitute of windows, and therefore from the beginning must have been planned for artificial lighting. Around the church are grouped the remains of rectangular walls, which may point to the earlier existence of a cloister. The peculiar connection of the dome with the quadrangular surface by the rounding of the inner walls indicates, according to the narrator, that the origin of the structure is to be laid in the most ancient period of oriental church architecture, perhaps, therefore, in the sixth century. As the building is not entirely exhumed, a more accurate description cannot yet be given.

Samuel Gobat, the late Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, has found a biographer who performs a very acceptable task in giving to the world the information that he has been able to collect in regard to this worthy and noted man. The Bishop himself had previously published a diary of his life in Abyssinia up to the period when he entered on his episcopal office in Jerusalem, and then a portion of his biography was to be found only in manuscript in his own hand, written not for publicity, but for the satisfaction of his own family circle. His youngest daughter made a German translation of the English original for the press. The material for the later portion of his life is supplied by Gobat's circulars and the reports of others, especially of his own children and of a reverend friend. Professor Thiersch gathered and arranged all the material for this book. The impression made by the biography in regard to the personality of Gobat is very clear and emphatic. His pure evangelical piety, his deep humility, his unusual measure of self-sacrifice, his ceaseless struggle for the welfare of souls, even outside of the limits of his own Church, made him a man capable beyond most others to be a path-breaker for evangelical Christianity and life in the depressed Orient.

And he deserves the greater appreciation because much of the opposition to him, and indeed his greatest troubles, came from the circle of his own English Church. The Germans entertain a high respect for him because of his peculiar relations with Frederick William IV., through whose patronage and care he was placed and maintained in his peculiar position. It appears from this biography that it was the wish of the Prussian king to have the first bishops of the newly organized Prussian Church consecrated by him. The closing pages of the work give a short review of the present condition of the Protestant diocese of Jerusalem.

## ART. XIII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

### *Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

*Annual Theological Review.* Current Discussions in Theology. By the Professors of Chicago Theological Seminary. Volume II. 12mo, pp. 324. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell.

More than a year ago, three of the professors of Chicago Theological Seminary (Congregational) issued a small volume entitled "Current Discussions," which they designed should be the first of a series of annual publications from that institution, giving some account of the trend of biblical and theological thought and discussions during the last preceding year. The second of the series is now before the public, and the whole six members of the faculty unite in its production, each contributing a "Part" having reference to his own specialty.

Part I, by Professor Samuel Ives Curtis, having the general title, "Present State of Old Testament Studies," and the more definite one, "The History of Israel," occupies about sixty pages, and is one of the most noticeable divisions of the volume. The subject is just now the leading one in the whole world of biblical learning, and it is here treated by a specially able hand. The design appears to be simply to indicate the state of the subject as it exists among the most "advanced," which means the most skeptical and destructive school of critics in the German universities. The situation is outlined with a good share of learning, and with a judicial freedom from bias that seems to be at once clear and exceedingly cold, scarcely giving any indication of the writer's own attitude in respect to the matters of which he writes. Its atmosphere is altogether that of the least evangelical of the German universities, and it apparently "gives away" the cause of

the supernatural religionists, by tacitly allowing the unwarrantable positions of the rationalists to stand unchallenged as they choose to present them. The positions of such critics as Ewald, Wellhausen, Stade, Robertson Smith, and others of the same school of thought, are brought prominently into view, but those of writers of opposite views are very little noticed. The exhibit made is, no doubt, a correct one as to the details given; but as a representation of the subject in hand, as it exists among the great body of Protestant scholars and theologians, it is manifestly one-sided and untruthful. There often appears a strange tendency among our biblical and theological scholars to give the advantage in every discussion to the enemies of the Bible and of evangelical orthodoxy. No doubt there is great need of a thorough and searching re-examination of the Old Testament, and it is the duty of our Christian scholars to engage in that work; but there is no good reason why the whole case should be virtually surrendered by uncalled-for concessions before the issue is fairly joined.

The second division of the department of Exegetical Theology, that of the New Testament, by Professor J. T. Hyde, is in quite a different tone from that of the former. The fight about the New Testament, which was precipitated by the publication of Strauss's "Life of Jesus," half a century ago, may be set down as fully determined, with the complete discomfiture of the assailants, but not without driving the defenders out of not a few of the indefensible positions formerly occupied by them. The present state of New Testament learning, which has become popularized in connection with the publication of the Revised Version, is altogether a satisfactory one, and the whole subject is very well outlined in the nearly fifty pages here devoted to it.

In Part II, Exegetical Theology, Professor H. M. Scott details the condition of the subject as it now exists in Germany, with an almost absolute disregard of any other portion of the Church or the world. The state of things among the New Lutherans and the "Unionists" is briefly and rapidly sketched, and then the "New Rationalistic Theology," which is shown to be a medley of all sorts of opinions, agreed upon among themselves only as to their common rejection of and contempt for the cherished opinions of evangelical Christians. The case is stated very calmly and clearly—no doubt fairly—and the reader is left to guess what may be the writer's personal estimate of the issues described, and whether or not he has any preference respecting the estimates that his readers may make of the questions discussed.

All this may be very well, if it is to be understood that it is no part of the duty of a theological professor to vindicate the truth of what he is set to teach.

Part III, Systematic Theology, by Professor George N. Bowman, is devoted to the consideration of Theism and Revelation, and a chapter is given to each of these subjects. The first discusses Professor Hicks's "Design Argument," examining especially his idea of the Absolute, and closing with the unanswered question, whether or not the view there given is tenable. The second chapter is, in like manner, devoted to Professor Ladd's recent book on the "Sacred Scriptures," which is ably handled, and some very good suggestions brought out; but, as if giving any intimation of what is correct or incorrect in it would be an impertinence, the writer is very careful to avoid any thing determinative, though his leaning toward the better side may, at some points, be detected.

Part IV, Practical Theology, (about preaching,) by Professor F. W. Fisk, is much more within the range of every-day life. Much that is given is excellent, but some of his suggestions may be safely subjected to further consideration. About the same criticism might apply to Part V, Pastoral Theology, (Church work,) which treats of the "how" and the requisite appliances for carrying forward, successfully and pleasantly, the proper affairs of "a conjugation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is [should be] preached, and the sacraments duly administered."

The design and plan of this "annual" appear to us to be especially a happy conception, and the execution of the work, as purposed by its authors, is well done; but its matter suggests a reason why so many of the younger ministers of the Congregational churches appear to be wholly adrift in respect to nearly all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. It would be an excellent service could one or more of our own theological faculties give to us a similar production, but without its dubiousness of theological opinions.

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*Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology, on the Basis of Hagenbach.* By GEORGE R. CROOKS, D.D., and JOHN F. HURST, D.D. 8vo, pp. 596. New York: Phillips & Hunt. 1884.

The "Library of Biblical and Theological Literature," projected by the Methodist Book Concern at New York several years ago, advances apace, and we are enabled to announce, as above, the

publication of another—the third—of its volumes. In respect to thoroughness and breadth of scholarship, this work must prove equal to the largest requirements, and the author's grasp of his subject as a whole, and his mastery of its details, cannot fail to prove entirely satisfactory. Of all this the name of Hagenbach is a sufficient guarantee, for in his chosen departments of theological learning he has no superior, even in Germany. The book thus given to English-speaking readers is a valuable contribution to the available resources for thorough theological investigations, with special reference to the practical work of the Gospel ministry.

We name the work as Hagenbach's, for such it is, not only as to its "basis," but also, for the most part, in respect to its substance and superstructure. It is thoroughly German in its style and modes of thought and methods of statement, and its outlook upon its themes of discussion is made from a German standpoint. It is simply Hagenbach's "Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology" translated from the German into good, idiomatic English, and somewhat supplemented and otherwise modified by the American editors. Its cumbrous and pedantic title would be more intelligible if made to read, "The Methods and Substance of Theological Study."

A not unfriendly critic, and one altogether competent to give judgment in such a case, whose words have just now come under our eye, remarks at this point, and we fully indorse his "putting" as our own:

> It is so essentially German in its thought and method, that English and American scholars will treat it as serving only a temporary convenience, and will all the more desire an independent and original treatise. It is not difficult to believe that the accomplished editors, Drs. Crooks and Hurst, could have produced a better work by making less use of Hagenbach, and elaborating from their abundant stores of knowledge an entirely new Theological Encyclopædia. English [speaking] divines have no need of appropriating; nor is it desirable to give currency in our tongue to a terminology so dim as [that here used.] Friendly criticism may also allege that the bewildering mass of German bibliography appended to the several sections of this volume will scarcely serve any useful purpose to the American student. A large proportion of the works referred to are inaccessible to most American scholars; and, while the references serve to indicate the vast amount of brain-work that has been bestowed upon these subjects, and are themselves a means of literary culture, a less extensive and more select bibliography would seem to have better suited the purposes of an introductory handbook for American and English theological students.

The strange absence of any such work in our language, of a later date or more adequate character than Bickersteth's "Christian Student," which was first published more than fifty years ago, may fully justify the reproduction in an English dress of such a specimen of the latest and maturest Christian scholarship,

even though its speech and its thoughts "bewray" its alien character. But it seems especially desirable that, as above intimated, it shall be accepted as only a "temporary convenience," and that Dr. Crooks, or some one else equally competent—if such another can be found—shall without any unnecessary delay set about preparing the much-needed work. With very many real excellences, which, however, are marred in respect to their practical use by their form and methods of statement, there are not wanting also in this work manifest defects, and also damaging misconceptions of the requisite personal qualifications for entering upon the work of the ministry; and it may be devoutly hoped that the ideas upon this subject which prevail in any of the State Churches of Europe will not soon become naturalized among us.

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*System of Christian Theology.* By HENRY B. SMITH, D.D., LL.D. Edited by WILLIAM S. KARR, D.D., Professor of Theology in Hartford Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 630. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Professor H. B. Smith was no doubt among the very best thinkers and writers, in theology, of the recent past, or rather of the present, for by his works he is still among men. Thoroughly scholarly, as to his reading and study of broad and liberal views and modes of thinking, yet a firm believer, and devotedly attached to the theological system in which he had been educated—a modified Calvinism—to harmonize which with his own broader and more scriptural views of divine truth was his life-work, the present volume is his best monument. But it is his own only as the temple was David's; for as David gathered the materials and Solomon built the temple, so the matter of this treatise was prepared by him whose name it bears, but its form and structure is the work of the editor.

As a system of theology this work is eminently scriptural, orthodox, and evangelical. That the author comes to his task with strong and intelligent predilections toward certain methods of viewing and stating Christian doctrine is every-where manifest, and these determine his relations to existing theological schools of thought. He is an Augustinian, and yet he avoids the peculiarities of Augustine's notions on such points as the *realism* of sin and righteousness, and his process of sinking the individual man and merging all his spiritual interests, for time and eternity, in the consolidated federation of the race. He is a Calvinist as to the positive side of that system, but not so as

to the negative side; for while he insists upon the doctrine of the divine predestination, he also holds to the freedom of the human will, really and practically; and he claims that it is not unreasonable for us to suppose that the apparent antagonism of these two postulates is only apparent, and that beyond the range of our vision they perfectly harmonize. A special excellence of this work is the clearness—the cleanness—of the style of the writing, and of the mode of stating the several propositions, indicating the completeness of the author's processes of thought upon the subjects discussed. Obscurity in writing is more frequently the result of incomplete mental processes than of lack of facility in the use of language; and it is quite evident that in this case every thought had been completely formulated in the mental laboratory before it was committed to writing. And yet here, as in nearly every system of theology, a large share of what is set forth has been accepted simply because it is the traditional faith of the Church, and not because such points have been thoroughly examined, each upon its own evidence. This is perhaps unavoidable, but it suggests the thought that not improbably some of these accepted points may yet be called in question, and, after more adequate inquiry, modified or rejected. There remains very much land to be explored by rational and devout free-thinking.

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*A Higher Catechism of Theology.* By William Burt Pope, D.D. 12mo, pp. 389. New York: Phillips and Hunt. $1 50.

A complete apparatus for theological instruction and study consists of three grades of books: The Catechism proper; the Higher Catechism, or a summary of doctrines; and Systematic Theology, or the full statement of Christian doctrine, duly elaborated. The first and the last of these have been largely provided by Methodist authors, and issued from the Methodist press; but for the second no adequate provision has heretofore been made. The want of such a work has been felt and confessed, and some attempts have been made to supply it, but hitherto without satisfactory results. Dr. Pope's great work having been selected as the standard text-book of theology for the use of the junior preachers of the Methodist ministry, it is well that the epitomized form of doctrines comes from the same hand; and accordingly this work has been prepared, certainly with marked conscientiousness, as well as with distinguished ability. As a theological writer, Dr. Pope is scholarly,

conservative, and painstaking. Doctrinally he is a Wesleyan of the strictest type, and especially of the school of Watson, with whose positions, as set forth in the "Institutes," he is nearly always in strict accord. His Arminianism is that of Arminius himself, rather than that of the later Remonstrants; and in some important particulars he is not entirely in harmony with some of our later American Methodist writers: notably in respect to the nature of sin, and of atonement, and of free-will; on which points he is more nearly Augustinian, and they relatively nearer to Pelagianism. He also makes a somewhat larger account of the sacraments, as in some way connected with the bestowment of salvation. By reason of his thorough acquaintance with the subject of Christian doctrine, Dr. Pope is well prepared to set it forth in its details and in systematic order. The catechetical form enables him to particularize at every point, and to give his definitions and mark distinctions of thought with great clearness. His business is not to support what he declares by either Scripture or reason, but to set forth what he conceives to be the plain teaching of God's word in direct and easily intelligible terms. The catechist is assumed to know what he teaches, and the catechumen is supposed to be a subject of instruction, coming to be taught, and not for debate. Discussions and disputations may have their uses, but the Christian teacher must often depend chiefly upon the essential reasonableness and adaptation of what he declares, rather than upon external proofs and logical demonstrations; and for his purpose the simple didactic forms of the catechism is peculiarly well adapted. It has been matter of complaint that the Methodist laity, and especially the younger portion of them, are not well taught in the doctrines of their Church; and as a cause of this, the want of a concise manual of doctrine has been alleged, but that matter of complaint must now cease. This "Higher Catechism" ought to be made a text-book in the young people's classes in our Sunday-schools.

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*The Great Argument:* or, Jesus Christ in the Old Testament. By WILLIAM H. THOMSON, M.A., M.D., Professor in the Medical Department of the University of the City of New York. 8vo, pp. 471. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A more egregious mistake has seldom been made, even by its mistaking promoters, than the assumption that the Old Testament has ceased to be useful for the defense of the Gospel—perhaps rather a burden and a hinderance. As sometimes interpreted by

certain super-fiducial literalists, it might, indeed, become such; but read and expounded by any reverent and rationally critical mind, its value in Christian apologetics, and not less so in scriptural exegesis, is beyond estimate. And with this view of the subject we hail with real pleasure the appearance of the work named above. Its double title is especially significant, as it assumes that the revelation of Christ in the Old Testament is indeed the great and divinely purposed argument in favor of the Truth. To this our Lord himself referred the caviling Jews, and out of these sacred books of the Jews the apostles alleged and proved that Jesus was the Christ.

The author of the book now in hand is a son of the author of "The Land and the Book," and himself lived during the susceptible period of his youth among the scenes of the Holy Land. Retaining the impressions of his childhood, he now, in mature manhood, is turning them to account in deducing from them instructions respecting the great truths of whose manifestation Palestine was the arena. The argument itself is not different in either its substance or its form from what has often been given; but in respect to both the fullness of the proofs adduced and to the forms in which they are presented, it excels any that we have seen elsewhere. The Introduction, filling over forty pages, gives the external conditions of the subject in hand, so showing the force and pertinency of the following array of proofs; and the twelve following chapters present a succession of arguments whose combined force constitutes the highest kind of a demonstration, because, "to him gave all the prophets witness." As a Christology of the Old Testament, we have seen nothing that so fully and satisfactorily meets the demands of the case.

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*The Parables of Jesus.* A Methodical Exposition. By SIEGFRIED GOEBAL, Court Chaplain in Halberstadt. Translated by Prof. BANKS HEADINGLY. 8vo, pp. 455. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The purpose of the writer in composing this scholarly work was "to avoid the usual arbitrariness in the treatment of the Parables, and to investigate their original meaning under the guidance of a thorough, methodical, and exact exposition." Not finding in German theological literature any such exegetical treatment of these interesting portions of the Gospel, he undertook to supply the lack himself. His translator informs us that his work "has won considerable favor in Germany," a fact which of

itself is no mean commendation. Dr. Weiss gives it credit for "solid exegesis, sound judgment, and sober, skillful interpretation," albeit he censures its author for his disregard of the results of modern "criticism," and for his "diffuse, involved style." The first of these censures will be accepted as one of his conspicuous merits by the evangelical reader; the second he will regret, since, despite the effort of the translator to modify his style, it is still tedious and lacking in perspicuity. To some its purely German character will add to its value; while others will regret that its author did not avail himself of the aids he might have found in the valuable expositions of English writers. To the student who seeks not fanciful and unnatural interpretations, or merely edifying applications of the Parables of Jesus, but a sound exegesis which aims to give "the simple, original sense which the parable had in the mouth of Jesus in relation to those to whom he delivered it," this volume will be highly esteemed. W.

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*Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Epistles to the Corinthians.* By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D., Oberconsistorialrath, Hannover. Translated from the Fifth Edition of the German, by Rev. D. DOUGLAS BANNERMAN, M.A. The Translation Revised and Edited by WILLIAM P. DICKSON, D.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow. With a Preface and Supplementary Notes, by TALBOT W. CHAMBERS, D.D. 8vo, pp. 720. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Meyer's Critical and Exegetical Commentary deservedly stands among the very first of its class. It is eminently learned, judicial in its spirit, and judicious in its evangelical tone and doctrinal decisions. It is especially to be commended for the fidelity with which the results of sound criticism are accepted, without respect to traditional or ecclesiastical prepossessions; and yet it is uniformly reverent in its spirit and evangelical in its conclusions. In company with Alford's "Greek Testament," we have long made it our hand-book for the study of the New Testament, and have found both satisfaction and profit in its use.

This new edition, the first in this country, has several special features, some of them of considerable importance, and adding to the practical value of the work. The translation has been improved at a variety of points, and generally better conformed to the English idioms; and both the preface and the supplementary notes by Dr. Chambers are real and valuable additions. The work, as a whole, is a store-house of New Testament learning which every Bible student should possess and study thoroughly.

*Theology of the Old Testament.* By Dr. GUSTAV FRIEDRICH OEHLER, of the Evangelical Theological Seminary in Tübingen. A Revision of the Translation in Clark's Foreign Theological Library, with the Additions of the Second German Edition, an Introduction and Notes, by George E. Day, Professor of Biblical Theology in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 594. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The battle of the giants about the Old Testament is not only begun, but is already well advanced. On the side of the assailants, as chiefs, stand Kuenen and Wellhausen and W. Robertson Smith, a trio of champions of destructive criticism, learned and skilled in controversy, and quite unrestrained by any undue reverence for the traditional faith. They are foemen worthy of the steel of any others, and are not to be put off by a shrug or a proverb. The defense advances more slowly, but not less surely, and forward among its champions is Oehler, whose great work, by the favor of its American editor and publishers, is brought within easy reach of those who use only their vernacular, without loss by its transmission into English, which could not be so well said of the Edinburgh edition. No account of the contents of the work can be given in the few lines that we can devote to this notice. It is enough to say that it is the one great work which effectually covers the whole field of the question at issue, and successfully controverts the strange positions of its antagonists. Let no one consider himself master of the question who has not thoroughly read and digested this remarkable production, to do which will be a work of weeks and months.

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*Biblical Lights and Side Lights.* Ten Thousand Illustrations, with Thirty Thousand Cross References, consisting of Facts, Incidents, and Remarkable Declarations taken from the Bible. By Rev. CHARLES E. LITTLE. 8vo, pp. 632. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

A help toward Bible references and textual quotations, midway between a concordance and a commentary, and having some of the properties of each. As a concordance, it is of ideas and subjects rather than of words, so as to enable one to find some text or passage of Scripture on any given subject that he may have in mind. The work, which must be the result of immense study and painstaking, appears to be much more than a compilation of passages strung together by merely verbal likenesses; it is rather a rationally arranged comparison of subjects and texts, the latter taken in their proper meaning. It is a work of very much merit, and will prove a valuable labor-saving manual in consulting the divine word. It is well printed on good paper, and is altogether such a book as the Bible reader will find useful.

## *History, Biography, and Topography.*

*Life of James Buchanan.* By GEORGE TICKNOR CURTIS. Two vols., 8vo. Vol. i, pp. 625; vol. ii, pp. 707. New York: Harper & Bros. 1883.

The mind of the American people is made up about the fifteenth President of the United States. The verdict was rendered in 1860, and is uncomplimentary. The unfavorable judgment of thirty millions of people is at no time a trifle. A greater punishment than the subject could bear, it suggested a political *Apologia pro Vita Sua.* That autobiographical plea, however, made little impression upon public opinion. Indeed, the thirty millions seemed to feel that the less said about the administration of 1857–61 the better for its author. No one saw this more clearly than the person himself. It is all the more pathetic, therefore, to learn that even in the closing hours of his life he clung to the vague hope that the day would come when his country would reverse its passionate decision.

A quarter of a century has now elapsed. An appeal to re-open the case cannot be called premature. If the former judgment was heated by an excited period, there has been time to cool. Moreover, a new generation has appeared in the jury-box. Candor must compel a common confession that this book cannot be said to harbinger the day of exoneration and long-delayed praise for which the expiring President yearned. That is no fault of the biography.

Disclaiming any previous personal interest in the fame of his subject, Mr. Curtis's political sympathy has nevertheless quite compensated for the lack of actual acquaintance and attachment. It is for no friendlier biographer yet to come to portray this character in that warmth of personal sympathy to which every public character is justly entitled. No writer in future will be more thorough and patient, or will be able to procure ampler *memorabilia* on which to base still another life. Mr. Buchanan's voluminous correspondence, his private journals, and his full memoranda of all his important conversations leave nothing lacking in the way of data.

Mr. Curtis has done the public a service in writing this life. His work will go far toward changing antipathy into pity. Few can read without emotion the record of the peculiar domestic sorrow that clouded Mr. Buchanan's young manhood. All will follow him with solicitude on his mission to St. Petersburg,

where, without previous experience, he was to cope with the most accomplished diplomatic fencers in the world, and will feel a patriotic pride in the ability and address which secured the first commercial treaty with Russia, an advantage which England's best politicians had sought in vain. None will miss the deft argumentative ability displayed at the Ostend Conference in defense of the alleged right of the United States to seize Cuba in the interest of the slave power, though few readers will escape sadness that such ability could be enlisted in such a cause. Many will be moved with sorrow, too, when noting the vile and cruel slanders that assailed the President in the crisis of his political life. All talk of his disloyalty or conscious collusion with traitors will be scouted. His stainless moral character, his purity of speech, his chivalrous and reverential bearing toward the gentler sex, his habits of secret prayer and Bible-reading, will lay hold of the reader's heart.

When he draws near the crucial hour of his destiny, the era of secession, we have no sinister distrust or suspicion of him. After granting all of Mr. Curtis's extenuating circumstances—the attitude of Congress—the President's construction of the constitution—the Northern incredulity as to the seriousness of the crisis, the residuum is the old conviction of the people, that the brilliant diplomatist and able constitutional lawyer lacked something. Mr. Curtis tells us that we ought not to talk about what might have been done. We cannot help it. We cannot avoid speculating what Abraham Lincoln would have done as President when South Carolina seceded, or what would have been James Buchanan's policy if Fort Sumter had been fired upon prior to March, 1861. Would the latter, in the face of the hurricane of wrath that arose in the Northern sky, have stood in the face of it arguing constitutional limitations? No man can tell. If we were as confident as some of the divine nescience, we should say that Providence dared not permit the experiment.

We hesitate about our resolution of thanks to Mr. Curtis. He has given us a personal friend undoubtedly; but he has added therewith a new pang also. He has told us how, at their final parting, the Czar embraced him, and that when Queen Victoria met him once upon a time "an arch but benevolent smile lit her countenance." We, too, cannot withhold our smile and embrace. But, alas! our biographer has convinced us also that in the hour of our nation's peril our friend fell short of that greatness the country had a right to expect from him. M. D. E.

*Centenary Thoughts for the Pew and Pulpit of Methodism, in Eighteen Hundred and Eighty-four.* By R. S. FOSTER, one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Surely a suggestive book, whether regarded as an exponent of what Episcopal Methodism has become, the means by which its past victories have been won, or as a shadower-forth of what it is fondly hoped may be its position when its second centennial shall dawn.

Some of the "Thoughts" dwelt in the author's mind long years ago, and were first uttered by him in the hearing of his brethren of the New York Conference on occasion of the centennial celebration of Methodism in 1866. Others of them have been uttered by him on various occasions since, especially when, as one of the chief pastors of the Church, he has addressed bodies assembled as Annual and Lay Conferences. But all of them have been more recently transmuted in the alembic of a deeper spiritual laboratory, and are now given as fitting words to the incitement of the Church to the divising of great things for God at the close of this first century of her history.

The author has cast these "Centenary Thoughts" in three molds, or classes. In the first is comprised a rapid and vivid sketch of the numerical and potential advance of the Church in the hundred years just closing, and in its influence for good upon other religious bodies. From this section we make the following brief extract:

> It [Methodism] was conspicuously an awakening of spiritual consciousness, which has been felt along all the lines of theological thought, and which has radically affected the conception of religion, and of fundamental doctrines throughout Christendom. No creed has been untouched by it. It is believed that it has done more to rectify theology in the matter of God's sovereignty and man's responsibility, the doctrines of sin, of atonement, [and] of human freedom, than [have] all other agencies put together.

The second class of "Thoughts" is largely made up of meditations suited especially "for the Pulpit." These have mainly to do with the duties and qualifications of the ministry of the Church. Here the author says:

> Personal ministerial character is so important an integer, that I beg to devote a moment longer at this point. He that teaches holiness must himself be holy. He that would move men toward holiness must himself be centered in holiness. The force that lifts men must be from above, and yet must be in the preacher. People instinctively demand that religious teachers shall have the odor of sanctity about them. Nor is the semblance, however complete, sufficient. Souls have a way of knowing when souls speak to them. They infallibly discern between mere sound and the power which comes from the core of a great honest feeling. Out of the depths of the soul come the forces which move to moral revolutions.

The third division of the book is termed "Thoughts for the Pew." Here the Bishop comes near to the heart and the home of the Church at large, and urges it to the performance of its high and holy duty as becomes one who must himself "give account to God." Hear and heed him:

> Cultivate love for generous deeds: it will broaden and deepen your manhood, it will give tone and richness to your piety, it will heighten and brighten your life. . . . In the house of God there are no distinctions. The poor and the rich meet together, and one God is Father of them all. The words of the lowly, seasoned with grace, are often fullest of comfort. . . . The spiritual work of the Christian is not limited to the sanctuary. It has to do with your closet and with your family life. Keep the fires burning by the daily supply of fuel from the closet and the family altar. Be priests in your homes. Wrestle with God for your children. Let grace appear in such loveliness in you that your children will be attracted by it. Let the sermon of your life and temper back up every exhortation of the pulpit. More than any body else be the evangel in your own household.

We heartily commend the book to all "the people called Methodists," and urge that at least one copy shall be found in every family of the thousands of our Israel. J. L.

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*Brahmoism;* or, History of Reformed Hinduism, from Its Origin in 1830, under Rajah Mohun Roy, to the Present Time, with a Particular Account of Babu Keshub Chunder Sen's Connection with the Movement. By RAM CHANDRA BOSE, M.A., of Lucknow, India. 12mo, pp. 222. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The author of this little volume, an educated Hindu, has twice visited this country as a delegate from the Methodist Mission Conference in India to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. As a native of that country and a convert from Hinduism, his views may be accepted as from the inside rather than the outside of the subject. His estimate of the Brahmo Somaj, and of its great apostle, Keshub Chunder Sen, are less exalted than have been taken by some Europeans. The book is worthy of the attention of all who would obtain a clear and comprehensive notion both of this somewhat remarkable person and his sect.

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*John Foster: Life and Thoughts.* With Copious Index. By W. W. EVERTS, D.D. 8vo, pp. 207. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Foster was a remarkable man; a profound but solitary thinker; religious but without religious joy; and, though a minister of the Gospel of great simplicity and sincerity, yet he was evidently not well adapted to the "cure of souls." He has evidently found an appreciative editor in Dr. Everts, and the book here produced is honorable to both the parties.

## *Miscellaneous.*

*Index to the Methodist Quarterly Review.* Including "The Methodist Magazine," and "The Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review," 1818–1881. By ELIJAH H. PILCHER, D.D. 8vo, pp. 339. New York: Phillips and Hunt.

The current number of our Quarterly is designated No. 3, Volume LXVI; Fourth Series, XXXVI. This series is made up of "The Methodist Magazine," (monthly,) 1818 to 1829, inclusive—eleven volumes. The publication was then suspended for one year, and again revived as a Quarterly, and was so issued for eleven years under the direction of the editor of "The Christian Advocate," making the *Second Series.* In 1840 a separate editor (Rev. George Peck, D.D.) was elected, who was also to have the general editorship of the books published by the Book Concern, and the publication was by him raised to a higher plane, and designated as the beginning of a new (the third) series. In 1848 Dr. John M'Clintock was elected editor, and because some changes were made in the form, this, too, was designated as the beginning of a new series, (the fourth,) which was continued during the protracted editorship of Dr. Whedon.

There is certainly no exaggeration in the words of the compiler of this Index when he says, (in his preface,) "The files of 'The Methodist Quarterly Review' now contain the best thought of the Methodist Episcopal Church during nearly three quarters of a century." But on account of the miscellaneous character of the matter, and its wide distribution through so many volumes, it has been found only partially available for reference, so rendering an index indispensable to its further utility; and the title given above announces the preparation and publication of the much-needed guide to the hid treasures of these sixty-six volumes.

The author has evidently performed his work very largely as a labor of love, for only under such an incentive could such a performance be possible. After giving a brief "Historical Introduction," which will be at once new and very acceptable to the present generation of readers, the author presents his work under seven heads, each of which is, however, an index to all the several series—Biblical, Theological, Ecclesiastical, Philosophical, Biographical, Religious Intelligence, Miscellaneous. Then follows a list of the portraits (chiefly engravings on steel) that have appeared in the Review, and last of all three appendixes: (1) Names of authors, (writers for the periodical,) with indica-

tions of the pieces written, their places and dates. (2) Names of authors quoted, with like designations of places and dates; and (3) Names of authors whose works have been reviewed or noticed. In the principal indexes, every paper is distinctly named, and its contents indicated with such fullness as will enable the inquirer to form a pretty correct estimate of its scope and character.

Certainly the matter scattered through these more than sixty volumes is quite too valuable to be allowed to perish, and the volumes themselves to become practically worthless; which without some way to find out their contents must be the case, and against which such an index is the only available provision. It is well, therefore, that such a work has been prepared; and for it the Methodist public owe a debt of thanks to the compiler and the publishers.

For every one who possesses any considerable portion of these volumes, the Index will be a necessity and a sure assistance, and it will be scarcely less useful for those who have not the back volumes of the Review, as by its help they may readily ascertain what has been written on any subject, by whom, and in what manner treated. And to all such we can, in good faith, recommend this volume as amply meeting the demands of the case.

*Heroes of Christian History. Richard Baxter.* By G. D. Boyle, M.A., Dean of Salisbury. 12mo, pp. 170. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The series of condensed biographies of eminent Christian leaders of the nearer and remote past in Great Britain, of which this sketch of the saintly Baxter is the seventh, will serve a valuable purpose for those who would know something of these worthies, and yet cannot avail themselves of larger and more elaborate works. They are decidedly well written.

*The Revelation of the Father:* Short Lectures on the Titles of the Lord in the Gospel of St. John. By Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D. 12mo, pp. 188. London and Cambridge: Macmilan and Co.

As the production of an eminent biblical and Christian scholar, written as public discourses, the chapters of this choice volume are specially adapted to personal Christian culture, and peculiarly so for those who read the Gospels in the expectation that Christ will reveal himself in his word.

*The Macedonian Cry.* A Voice from the Lands of Brahma and Buddha, Africa, and the Isles of the Sea, and a Plea for Missions. By Rev. John Lanthern. 12mo, pp. 280. Price, 70 cents. Toronto: William Briggs.

A valuable contribution to current missionary literature.

*Studies in the Forty Days between Christ's Resurrection and Ascension.* A Series of Essays for the Times. By A. A. LIPSCOMB, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor, Vanderbilt University. Nashville, Tenn: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1884.

The preparation of this little volume has evidently been a labor of love with its gifted writer. It is not destitute of earnest arguments for definite opinions touching its subject, but its methods of statement, its fine metaphysical seed-thoughts, and the fertility of its fancying are especially noteworthy. The vein of devout meditation that pervades it will also prove an especial attraction.

*Light Ahead.* By CECILIA A. GARDINER. 12mo, pp. 443. $1 25. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

A decidedly readable story, well written and vivacious, and of wholesome moral and religious tendencies.

*The Gospel of the Secular Life.* Sermons preached at Oxford, with a Prefatory Note. 18mo, pp. 256. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Excellent.

*The Doom of the Majority of Mankind.* By SAMUEL J. BURROWS. 18mo, pp. 154. American Unitarian Association.

A terrible indictment of the doctrine of election; but none of the difficulties of the other side of the problem are noticed.

*A Golden Inheritance.* By REESE ROCKWELL. 12mo, pp. 340. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Well written; a good story, of excellent moral and religious tone.

*Sound Bodies for Boys and Girls.* By WILLIAM BLACKIE. Author of "How to Get Strong and How to Stay So." 18mo, pp. 168. New York: Harper & Brothers.

*Mothers in Council.* 18mo, pp. 194. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Very readable, and eminently judicious.

*Short History of the Reformation.* By JOHN F. HURST, D.D. With Illustrations. 18mo, pp. 125. New York: Harper & Brothers.

*Multum in parvo.*

*Letters to Cardinal M'Closkey, Archbishop of New York.* By JAMES A. O'CONNER, of the Reformed Catholic Church. 16mo, pp. 190. Paper.

*Outline Missionary Series. India: Country, People, Missions.* By J. T. GRACEY. 12mo, pp. 207. Paper covers. Rochester: Scranton, Wetmore, & Co.

*Martin Luther:* A Study of the Reformation. By EDWIN D. MEAD. 12mo, pp. 194. Boston: George H. Ellis.

*Unitarian Affirmations.* Seven Discourses given in Washington, D. C. By Unitarian Ministers. 16mo, pp. 175. Boston: Unitarian Association.

*Raising the Pearl.* By JAMES OTIS, Author of "Toby Tyler," etc. 16mo, pp. 300. New York: Harper & Brothers.

*More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands,* (Queen Victoria's,) from 1862 to 1882. With Portraits and Illustrations. 16mo, pp. 171. Paper covers. New York: Harper & Brothers.

*A Presentation of the Grammar of New English.* Beginning with the Age of Elizabeth. By GEORGE H. WEBSTER. 12mo, pp. 160. Pittsburg, Pa.

*Agnosticism of Hume and Huxley.* With a Notice of the Scottish School. By JAMES M'COSH, President of Princeton College. Philosophical Series, No. VI. 8vo, pp. 70. Paper covers. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

*Memoir of Charles Lowe.* By his wife, MARTHA PERRY LOWE. 12mo, pp. 569. Boston: Cupples, Upham, & Co.

*Manners and Social Usages.* By MRS. JOHN SHERWOOD, Author of "A Transplanted Rose." 16mo, pp. 325. New York: Harper and Brothers.

*Modern Physics:* Studies, Historical and Philosophical. By ERNEST NAVILLE, Corresponding Member of the Institute of France. Translated from the French by HENRY BOYNTON, M.A. 12mo, pp. 324. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

*The Creators of the Age of Steel.* By W. T. JEANS. 12mo, pp. 349. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

*Mechanics' and Engineers' Pocket-Book of Tables, Rules, and Formulas, etc.* (Forty-fifth Edition.) By CHARLES H. HASWELL. 18mo, pp. 922. Flexible leather, with Tucks. New York: Harper and Brothers.

*The Mystery of Creation, and of Man;* To which is Added a New View of Future Punishment. By L. C. BAKER. Second Edition, 18mo, pp. 229. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co.

*The Remarkable History of Sir Thomas Upmore, Bart., M.P.,* formerly Known as "Tommy Upmore." By R. D. BLACKMORE, Author of "Chipps the Carrier," etc. 18mo, pp. 255. New York: Harper & Brothers.

*English Men of Letters.* Edited by JOHN MORLEY. *Addison.* By W. J. CANTHORPE. 12mo, pp. 182. New York: Harper & Brothers.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *The Man She Cared For.* By F. W. ROBINSON.—*The Way of the World.* A Novel. By D. CHRISTIE MURRAY.—*Chinese Gordon.* A Succinct Record of his Life. By ARCHIBALD FORBES. Illustrated.—*The Remarkable History of Sir Thomas Upmore, Bart., M.P.* Formerly known as "Tommy Upmore." By R. D. BLACKMORE.—*John Holdsworth, Chief Mate.* A Novel. By W. CLARK RUSSELL.—*In the West Countrie.* A Novel. By MAY CROMMELIN.—*A Fair Country Maid.* A Novel. By E. FAIRFAX BYRNE.—*Godfrey Helstone.* A Novel. By GEORGIANA M. CRAIK.

*The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.* The Text in the Authorized Translation: with a Commentary and Critical Notes: by ADAM CLARKE, LL.D., F.S.A., etc. A New Edition, Condensed and Supplemented from the Best Modern Authorities: by DANIEL CURRY, LL.D. Vol. II.: The Apostolical Epistles and Revelation. Imperial 8vo, pp. 640. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Nearly four years ago the present editor of the Methodist Quarterly Review, at the request of the Book Agents at New York, undertook the revisal of Dr. Adam Clarke's "Commentary on the New Testament," according to the plan indicated in the title given above. The work grew upon his hands much beyond his original expectation, and with bringing it through the press it has continued to the present time—though the first volume was published more than a year since. But at length all is completed, and the publication of the concluding volume is about to be announced. To give our readers the information they may desire respecting the design of the work, agreeable to which it had been executed, we insert the "Editor's Preface" to the second volume:

"The Preface to the first volume of the Revised Edition of Clarke's Commentary on the New Testament set forth with sufficient fullness the principles which had been adopted respecting the whole work. But the rules there indicated, as those according to which the revision of that volume had been made, have, from the necessities of the case, led to more considerable emendations and additions than seemed to be necessary in the former portion of the work. But in respect to the editor's sympathies with the views and opinions of his author, all that is there said may be here repeated and emphasized; and the fidelity to the general doctrinal opinions of the original work has been honestly adhered to, not simply as a yoke, but gladly, as felicitously indicating the mind of the Spirit as revealed in the written word. But in bringing the work of expounding and illustrating the apostolical writings up to the higher plane on which biblical learning now stands, as compared with its position fifty years ago, very considerable modifications have seemed to be necessary, and wherever that has appeared they have been made. All these, however, it is believed, have been made along the lines of the development of truth which the original work clearly marked out and pursued to a greater extent than had been done at that date by any other writer using the English language; for, as a biblical scholar and exegete, Dr. Clarke was at least a quarter of a century—perhaps twice that time—in advance of the learning of his age. But the regions in which he was a pioneer have since been

thoroughly explored, and the results, constituting a rich store of scriptural learning, duly appropriated. The reviser has sought to build the results thus obtained into the structure of evangelical and rational biblical theology, whose foundations he found so admirably made to his hands in the original. He therefore flatters himself that the now completed work of New Testament revision, while necessarily supplementary to the original, is in no important particular out of harmony with its spirit and purport; and that whatever has been added is substantially of the same character with the primitive stock. To pervert an author's meanings, while still utilizing his name and reputation, would savor of dishonesty; while to reproduce error or suppress truth would indicate a lack of prudence at once dishonorable and unjust.

"The authorities drawn upon (in the work) will be seen to be representative of the best and most scholarly Christian and biblical learning of the age, and at the same time free from any taint of the learned skepticism and the anarchical liberalism of a well-known school of rationalistic biblical critics and expositors. It has been the design in every case to evade no difficult passage, to recognize all really obscure points, and to give the chief renderings of them by the best and most trustworthy critics and expositors; and when all these fail to give satisfactory solutions of the cases in hand, to honestly confess that the subject remains unexplained. Cases in point will be found in the matter of 'tongues,' (1 Cor. xii, 10; xiv, 2, etc.,) and in the reasons rendered for the veiling of women in the public assemblies, 'because of the angels,' of which, with some others, no expositor has given any satisfactory solution: and this is freely confessed. In other cases, in which it is evident that a false exegesis (which in some things has widely prevailed in past times) has engendered popular misconceptions of the sense of Holy Scripture, it has been thought best simply to give the true expositions without polemical discussions, and so permit the truth to work the needed corrections. . Considering the word of God—and eminently the apostolical epistles—as a mine of untold richness as yet only partially developed, it has been a ruling purpose to detect and bring to light some of these hidden stores; and where the gems of spiritual truth come to us in sensuous and materialistic coverings, the design has been to bring them to the light and to show their value.

"Special attention has been devoted to the Prefaces and In-

troductions to the several epistles. It was necessary that these should be brief and concise, and it was also desirable that they should present the literary history and the occasion of the writing of each epistle; especially as these things tend to throw light upon the text. The results rather than the processes of inquiry are given; and as far as possible the time and place of the writing of each epistle, the people addressed, and the special occasion that called it forth, are considered. In these brief documents a large amount of valuable learning is given in a concise but comprehensive form, derived from the best sources; and while the information they give is necessary to the proper understanding of the several epistles, it is believed that for all non-professional students of the Bible they will prove sufficient helps in the matters of which they treat. For all others, distinct works, treatises, or manuals are required.

"In closing a work to which a large share of his time, for more than three and a half years, has been devoted, the editor would render devout thanks for the good Providence that has blessed him with health and strength for his work and enabled him to bring it to completion. The intimate mental and spiritual relations into which it has brought him to the divine word and its great Author have at once confirmed his faith and enlarged his appreciation of the inestimable value of the Holy Scriptures, and assured him, by a blessed experience, that Christ reveals himself to those who seek for him in the written word."

D. C.

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## ART. I. — THE HIGHER CRITICISM OF THE PENTATEUCH.

[SECOND ARTICLE.]

IN the preceding number of this Quarterly we gave a brief history of the Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch, and at the conclusion (p. 419) indicated, as results of that criticism which ought in all fairness to be conceded, (1) that the Pentateuch contains some passages which were not written by Moses; (2) that it contains documents of various dates and authorship; (3) that many of its laws were unknown or neglected during the period between the conquest of Canaan and the Babylonian captivity; and (4) that the last four books exhibit different stages and forms of legislation. Let us now inquire if these four propositions are inconsistent with the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch.

### I. PASSAGES NOT WRITTEN BY MOSES.

Our space will not allow a full discussion of all the passages in the Pentateuch which have been thought to be inconsistent with Mosaic authorship; nor need we, for our purpose, more than mention some of the more prominent examples. Those most frequently cited are Gen. xii. 6; xiii. 7, where the observation is made that "the Canaanite was then in the land:" the mention of Dan in Gen. xiv. 14, and Deut. xxxiv. 1, a name not given to the place until the times of the Judges, (Judg.

xviii, 29:) Gen. xxxvi, 31, where a list of Edomite kings is given who reigned "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." Exod. xvi, 35, contains a statement which seems inappropriate at that place, breaks the otherwise natural connection of verses 34 and 36, and may not unreasonably be believed to be an interpolation. The laudatory remark touching Moses in Num. xii, 3, is hardly such as a meek man would write about himself, and no one believes that Moses wrote the account of his own death in Deut. xxxiv. The words in Deut. ii, 12, have been thought to point to a time when Israel had taken possession of the promised land, and the whole context, verses 10–12, and also verses 20–23 of the same chapter, and verses 9–11 of chap. iii, may easily have been an editorial addition. So, too, the words, "Unto this day," in Deut. iii, 14, most naturally imply a time subsequent to the days of Moses.

Some of the above passages, we doubt not, may be legitimately explained so as to harmonize with the idea that Moses wrote them. Thus the statements made in Gen. xii, 6, and xiii, 7, do not necessarily imply that the Canaanite was not in the land at the time of the writer, for his purpose may have been to show that Abram was not the first dweller in that land; the Canaanites and the Perizzites had already settled there. So, too, Deut. ii, 12, is most accurately translated: "Even as Israel has done to the land of his possession, which Jehovah has given to them;" and this might well have been written by Moses after the Israelites had taken possession of the land east of the Jordan. But granting that all these, and probably other passages also, are of later date than the time of Moses, what must be our conclusion? Two methods of accounting for such facts at once suggest themselves: (1) The books of which these passages form a part were not composed until sometime after the Mosaic age, or (2) these passages are additions made by a later hand. Either of these suppositions is sufficient to account for the facts; but these facts alone are not sufficient to determine the date or authorship of the Pentateuch, taken as a whole. If we have other reasons sufficient to convince us that these books are in substance the work of Moses, or originated in his day, the class of passages cited above present no considerable difficulty, for it is perfectly reasonable that such additions may have been inserted by the hands of editors and transcribers.

"This might be a fair enough thing to say," observes W. R. Smith, ("Old Testament in Jewish Church," p. 322,) "if any positive proof were forthcoming that Moses wrote the mass of the Pentateuch." But this way of meeting our argument is an adroit attempt, characteristic of this school of critics, to throw the burden of *proving* the Mosaic authorship on those who see no sufficient reason to reject the ancient and uniform tradition. This may fairly be pronounced a specious movement to shift responsibility. The burden of proof is manifestly on the side of those who deny the Mosaic authorship. An ancient and uncontradicted belief of centuries is entitled to the first consideration, and should not be rejected until valid evidence of its falsity has been produced. Especially is the principle to be insisted on in the case of a tradition so well grounded as this one. The last four books of the Pentateuch claim over and over again, in the plainest and most positive manner, to be a record of what the Lord communicated to Moses and commanded him to set before the Israelitish people. The three middle books are filled with details of what "Jehovah spake unto Moses." We find no law or statement thus introduced which contains any thing inconsistent with such claims. No character in the Old Testament has such a unique grandeur as Moses, and there is none besides to whom such a body of laws can be so fittingly attributed. The subsequent history of Israel contains numerous incidental allusions to laws, customs, and institutions of which the Pentateuch makes him, under God, the author. The prophets and psalms abound in references to the exodus and the ministry of Moses in such ways as to recognize that period as the greatest epoch of the national history. Finally, our Lord himself accepted this tradition, and expressed himself in language which cannot be naturally explained without admitting that he corroborated the common belief of his nation. John v. 46, 47; vii. 19, 22. Such a tradition and belief must, according to all legitimate principles of criticism, be accepted as *prima facie* evidence of the Mosaic authorship. It may not be positive or conclusive *proof* of such authorship, but it has the first right to stand until proof of its incorrectness is forthcoming. Where is the unbiassed student, or where the candid critic, who will not concede that such a line of evidence is less easily set aside than the occurrence of occasional

passages which may be easily and legitimately explained as subsequent additions?

It has been claimed that the expression, "Beyond the Jordan," in such passages as Deut. i, 1, 5, (wrongly translated "On this side Jordan,") and the words used for "southward" and "westward," (Heb. נֶגְבָּה, *toward the Negeb*, and יָמָּה, *toward the sea*, Exod. xxvi, 18, 22,) in describing the sides of the tabernacle, prove that the writer lived in Western Palestine. For, to Moses in Moab, "beyond the Jordan" could only mean west of the Jordan, and at Sinai the sea was not westward, and the Negeb was to the north. But this argument ignores the fact that the Hebrew language was formed in Palestine, and such words and phrases had become fixed in common usage as far back as the time of Abram. Gen. xiii, 14. They would accordingly be used by a Hebrew, whether writing in Egypt, Arabia, or Babylon. It was as appropriate for Moses, in the Sinaitic peninsula, to speak of the Negeb and seaward sides of the tabernacle as it was for Daniel and Ezekiel to use these words by the rivers of Babylon. Dan. viii, 4, 9; xi, 5, 29; Ezek. xlviii, 10, 16.

### II. Documents Incorporated in the Pentateuch.

That the Pentateuch contains ancient documents of various dates and authorship is readily conceded. The wonder is that any one should ever have disputed this proposition, especially in regard to Genesis. This ancient narrative recounts events which are alleged by the writer himself to have occurred centuries and millenniums before Moses's day. The only rational supposition is that written documents and oral traditions were employed in its composition, and this hypothesis holds equally well, whether we attribute the work to Moses or to some other writer. But sober students will be slow to commend, much less to follow, the attempts of critics to detect and dissect the particular sources, and determine the work of each writer even to the divisions of single verses! This microscopic refinement of criticism will be likely to refute itself. There is not an ancient work extant which, if subjected to such a process, could not be shown to have come from a variety of authors; and not a few learned treatises of modern times might be greatly improved, in the judgment of wearied readers, if only shorn of

much that exact criticism might justly pronounce redundant, obscure, or slovenly.

A great deal has been said about the substantial agreement of critics concerning the ancient sources, and Prof. Ladd exhibits, in eight pages of his recent work,* the comparative harmony of Knobel, Schrader, Dillmann, and Wellhausen, in their analysis of the Hexateuch. But those same tables also serve admirably to show, by their numerous minute variations, the purely subjective principles of this species of criticism. There need be little, if any, dispute about the facts detailed; the controversy must turn upon the use made of the facts. Let it be assumed that the use of Elohim, or Jehovah, or some other divine name, must always indicate diverse authorship; let it be admitted that all differences of style and redundancy and repetition are proof of so many different "sources," and the work of analytical criticism is very simple. The harmony of critics adopting these principles is very much of the nature of a mechanical necessity. It scarcely needs the learning of a Knobel or a Dillmann to perform such labor. An ordinary school-boy, with a few pedagogical directions, might go through the Bible and pick out and classify such distinctions as Elohistic and Jehovistic chapters and verses. Repetitions and marked differences of style are recognized by every careful reader; and few, if any, will dispute that many of these differences, and the peculiar use of the names Elohim and Jehovah in some parts of Genesis, are most naturally explained by the hypothesis of different documents appropriated by the author of the book, and by him wrought over into one continuous narrative. The real question of criticism, we repeat, is not about the facts, but about theories assuming to rest upon these facts. The critics of one school affirm the existence of an original Elohistic document, running through the entire Hexateuch, and they are positive that the Jehovistic and other portions are later supplements. But the most recent school has changed to the very reverse of this, and conclude that the Elohist was the final redactor of the whole. Why should we follow either of these schools? Why may not Moses himself have gathered up the different traditions and documents, and compiled the Book of Genesis, and, in the course of forty

* "The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture," vol. i, pp. 517–525. New York, 1883.

years, have added the other books, which from time immemorial have been ascribed to him? Later editors have added here and there a sentence, and Eleazar or Joshua (comp. Josh. xiv, 1; xxiv, 26) might very appropriately have appended the account of the great lawgiver's death, and, indeed, have compiled the whole of Deuteronomy, using in the main the last sayings of Moses; but such admissions furnish no valid argument against the Mosaic authorship of the great body of the work.

### III. Ignorance and Neglect of the Law after the Age of Moses.

It appears from the extant records of Israelitish history that the laws of the Pentateuch were either unknown or else very generally neglected and violated during most of the period between the conquest of Canaan and the Babylonian exile. In proof of this we may cite the story of Micah and the Levite, (Judg. xvii, xviii,) the sacrilege of Eli's sons, (1 Sam. ii,) the offering of Jephthah's daughter as a human sacrifice, (Judg. xi,) the rash vows and illegal acts of Saul, and the wide-spread habit of worship at high places, the idolatry of Solomon, the calf-worship at Bethel and Dan, the Baal worship under Ahab and his heathen wife, and the multiplied idolatries of later kings. Facts of this character may be adduced in abundance, and critics of the school of Knenen and Wellhausen appeal to them as evidence that the Mosaic laws and ritual were at the time unknown. Amos's mention of "the high places of Isaac" and the "sanctuaries of Israel" (chap. vii, 9) is cited to show that worship at high places was the ancient and hereditary practice of the nation, against which they knew no law. The facts cited certainly show either great ignorance or great neglect and violation of the laws of Moses; but do they warrant the inference that those laws were not then in existence? We answer, No; and for the following reasons:

1. Neglect, violation, or ignorance of sacred laws is no proof of their non-existence. According to Hosea iv, 2, swearing, falsehood, theft, adultery, and murder abounded in his day; but is this any evidence that the commandments of the decalogue prohibiting those crimes were then non-existent or unknown? Saul's fell purpose to murder David might be as fairly cited to prove that no law against homicide was then

extant. The whole drift and implication of the history of those times show that it was a period of violence and neglect of God's laws. How far those laws were known we cannot now determine; but there is much reason to suppose that, from Joshua to Josiah, the great mass of the Israelites knew very little of the sacred books of their nation. Almost universal ignorance of the Holy Scriptures prevailed in Europe for more than six hundred years before the Lutheran Reformation; more easily, we believe, might a similar ignorance of the Book of the Law have prevailed for as many centuries in Israel before the reign of Josiah.

2. We have no need to assume that even great prophets, like Samuel and Elijah, must have been familiar with the Books of Moses. They may have known much of the sacred laws and customs, as such, without any particular acquaintance with the books in which they were written. Neither they nor the later prophets were representatives of the sanctuary or ritual, but they were sent forth with the fresh, living oracle of God, which every-where extols the spirit rather than the letter. The key-note of Old Testament prophetism was sounded by Samuel himself, who, though reared at the house of Jehovah in Shiloh, (1 Sam. i, 9, 24; iii, 3,) and after its desolation offering burnt-offerings at other places, (1 Sam. vii, 9, 10,) said to Saul: "Hath Jehovah as great delight in burnt-offerings and sacrifices, as in obeying the voice of Jehovah? Behold, to obey is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." 1 Sam. xv, 22. But how much Samuel, or Elijah, or Amos, or Hosea knew, or did not know, about the written laws, or any literary documents of their nation, must be matter of conjecture, and cannot be made the basis of an argument. The import and value of any allusion they make must be determined by valid exegesis; but it always awakens suspicion to find a modern writer assuming to say what Elijah or Amos *did not know*, and then proceeding to rest an argument or build a theory upon such supposed ignorance. Suppose Elijah had never seen or read or heard of the books of Moses, does it follow that no such books existed? According to 1 Kings xix, 10, he did not know that there were seven thousand in Israel who refused to worship Baal. Hundreds of our most excellent citizens have never read the Constitution of the United States,

and an immense portion of our national literature reveals no hint of its existence. Multitudes among us who have been made familiar from childhood with the great names and facts of sacred history never read any considerable portion of the Bible, and some such often betray lamentable ignorance. A United States Senator is reported as saying: "He trembled like Belshazzar when Paul said to him, Thou art the man!" There might have been seven thousand copies of the Pentateuch in existence at Elijah's time, and all of them unknown to him, and out of the way of the most conspicuous persons of that period.

3. There is evidence, however, in the historical books, the Prophets and the Psalms, to indicate the priority of the legislation recorded in the Pentateuch. We meet with numerous allusions which are best explained by accepting the traditional belief of the antiquity of the books of Moses. The tabernacle and central place of worship was at first established at Shiloh. Josh. xviii, 1, 10; xix, 51. This fact is again recognized in Judg. xviii, 31. In 1 Sam. i, 3, 9, 24, the house of God is still at Shiloh, and thither all Israel bring their offerings, (ii, 22, 29.) The ministering priests are descendants of Aaron, (ii, 27, 28.) The ark is known as "the ark of the covenant of Jehovah," (iv, 3; comp. Exod. xxv, 21; Num. x, 33; xiv, 44,) but when captured by the Philistines, and while separated from the tabernacle, the glory departed from Israel. 1 Sam. iv, 21, 22; vii, 2. This fact largely explains the irregularities of worship and the demoralization that prevailed thereafter. Comp. 1 Kings iii, 2. The tabernacle with its priestly service was removed to Nob. (1 Sam. xxi, 1–7.) and afterward to Gibeon. 1 Kings iii, 4; 1 Chron. xvi, 39. David brought the ark to Jerusalem, and instituted a provisional worship there, (2 Sam. vi,) and under Solomon the temple became the great national sanctuary, which all Israel recognized as the place where Jehovah recorded his name. 1 Kings viii, 29; comp. Deut. xii, 11. The prominence of the priests and the ark at the dedication, and the numerous allusions, in 1 Kings viii, to the Exodus, the ministry of Moses, and the language of our present Pentateuch, imply the previous existence both of the Levitical and the Deuteronomic code. The disruption of the kingdom under Rehoboam, and Jeroboam's shrewd policy of

turning the national heart away from Jerusalem, (1 Kings xii,) abundantly explain the disorder and idolatry that followed. In the light of this history, the notion that the worship at Bethel and Dan and other local sanctuaries represents the ancient ante-Mosaic cultus, against which there was as yet no law, appears in the highest degree absurd. The prophets thenceforward address the nation as rebellious and backslidden children. Hosea proclaims that Israel has apostatized from Jehovah, until the many precepts of his written law have become a strange thing. Hos. viii. 12. Amos declares that Judah also has despised the law of Jehovah, and has not kept his commandments. Amos ii, 4. Isaiah complains that the entire nation had become utterly corrupt. Isa. i, 4–6. The older Psalms recognize Zion as the holy hill, (Psa. ii, 6; iii, 4,) Jehovah dwelling in his holy temple, (xi, 4,) and the duty of observing his statutes, (xviii, 22.) These and other similar facts imply the previous existence of the substance of the Mosaic history and legislation, and utterly nullify all *e silentio* arguments against the traditional opinion of the Mosaic books.

### IV. Relation of the Levitical and Deuteronomic Codes.

Until the rise of the new critical school, represented by Reuss, Graf, Kuenen, and Wellhausen, Deuteronomy was believed to be of later origin than the other books of the Pentateuch. The contrary theory, propounded in 1835 by Von Böhlen, Vatke, and George, obtained little currency, and such German critics as Schrader and Dillmann still maintain that Deuteronomy is the later work. But the critics of both these schools agree that the Book of Deuteronomy originated in the latter period of the Jewish monarchy, and its main portions constituted "the Book of the Law" which was discovered by Hilkiah. Three questions accordingly present themselves for our consideration: 1. What evidence exists to show that the book discovered by Hilkiah consisted solely of Deuteronomy? 2. Where is the proof that Deuteronomy, or any considerable portion of it, was first written in the times of Manasseh or Josiah? 3. What is the real relation of Deuteronomy to the three middle books of the Pentateuch?

1. What evidence exists to show that the book discovered by Hilkiah consisted of Deuteronomy only? It is called "the

Book of the Law," and "the Book of the Covenant." 2 Kings xxii, 8, 11; xxiii, 2, 21; comp. 2 Chron. xxxiv, 14, 15, 30; xxxv, 12. The reforms instituted by Josiah were warranted by laws found in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, as well as in Deuteronomy. Did the king destroy idolatrous images? This was enjoined in Exod. xxiii, 24, 33; xxxiv, 12–17, and Num. xxxiii, 51, 52. Did he put down the cruel worship of Molech? The only places in the Pentateuch where this god is mentioned by name are Lev. xviii, 21, and xx, 2–5. Did he abolish witchcraft? That also is condemned in the law of Leviticus, (xix, 31; xx, 27.) And the law of the Passover appears in Exodus, (xii; xxiii, 15; xxxiv, 18,) Leviticus, (xxiii, 5–8,) and Numbers, (ix, 2, 3.) Why then assume that Josiah's "law-book" consisted solely of Deuteronomy? That it contained Deuteronomy is not disputed, but when we are told that there is no evidence that Josiah had any thing more than Deut. xii–xxvi on which to base his reforms, it is ample and complete reply to say that there is also no evidence that this "Deuteronomic Code" was all his book contained. The plea that he did not observe some commandments which are found in other parts of the Pentateuch is nullified by the fact that he did not, so far as appears from the history, observe numerous things which are enjoined in Deuteronomy. There exists, therefore, no valid evidence that the Book of the Law or Book of the Covenant mentioned in 2 Kings xxii, 8, and xxiii, 2, contained Deuteronomy only.*

2. What evidence exists to show that the Book of Deuteronomy was first written at or near the time of Josiah's reign?

It is alleged that the style of composition is notably different from that of the other books of the Pentateuch. This is admitted by all, but is sufficiently accounted for by the nature of its subject-matter. It professes to be in substance a series of discourses delivered by Moses at the conclusion of his long life and ministry. Years probably intervened between the composition of these discourses and most of his other writings, and the time, the occasion, and the purpose of Deuteronomy, ac-

* "Of the finding of a book there is no doubt; and the arguments, such as they are, which prove, or are thought to prove, that it was Deuteronomy, a part of the five books, are equally valid to prove that it was the whole of the five books."—"Deuteronomy the People's Book," p. 16. London, 1877. See also pp. 18–23.

cording to the traditional belief, would warrant the expectation of finding in such a repetition of history and laws a different style from that of previous books. "The fervor and warmth," says Eichhorn, "which breathe in every line, make it apparent that countless emotions in the soul of the great man crowded themselves into his writing, and set on every page the seal of a work composed on the verge of the grave." * As for the character of the Hebrew employed in Deuteronomy, Kleinert has adduced controlling evidence to show that it savors of an older time than the later period of the Jewish monarchy. He shows by the citation of numerous examples that it resembles the previous Books of Moses more than it does the Books of Jeremiah and Kings. †

It is argued that the new order of things introduced by Josiah, and based upon this book, is evidence that the book itself could not have been in existence before. This argument, however, rests upon the assumption, already shown to be unsound, that national ignorance and non-observance of laws are proof of their non-existence. But, on the other hand, if Deuteronomy, or any considerable portion of "the law of Moses," originated in the days of Josiah, and was first made public as narrated in 2 Kings xxii, it was manifestly a forgery. The more radical critics do not hesitate to acknowledge this, and treat it as a pious fraud. Others endeavor to explain it as a literary fiction or a legal fiction, not intended to deceive, but merely to put in practical shape the doctrines of the prophets. But the subject-matter and historical position of the work are incompatible with any such hypothesis. We cannot conceive how a code of laws, originating under such circumstances, could have become the basis and rule of a national religion so pure and lofty. A writer of Josiah's time might, indeed, have published a book in the name of Moses. Poems, proverbs, philosophical disquisitions, and prophetical books have often been put forth under assumed names. Perhaps the Book of Ecclesiastes is a work of this kind, put forth, for obvious reasons, in the name of Solomon. We have numerous apocryphal and pseudepigraphal works of this character. But such books never had any notable influence on the national government

* "Einleitung in das A. T.," vol. ii, p. 405. Leipzig, 1803.

† "Das Deuteronomium und der Deuteronomiker," p. 235. Leipzig, 1872.

and worship. Such a production, which every body knew to be a fiction, could have had no authority to warrant the innovations undertaken by Josiah. Why should a book written in the reign of Manasseh or Josiah contain commandments to exterminate Canaanites and Amalekites, (Deut. xx, 16–18; xxv, 17–19,) tribes which were not then in existence? Was it done to give the work the tone of an ancient writing? Such a supposition would only make the fraudulent character of the book more glaring. It is for us easier a thousand times to believe the traditional authorship of the Pentateuch than to accept the hypothesis of such a forgery and fraud, in which Hilkiah, the priest, and Huldah, the prophetess, joined together to deceive the king and the whole Jewish nation, and succeeded so completely as to make a fictitious book the legal and constitutional basis of the national religion. Nay, this surreptitious introduction of the Book of the Law was so deftly done that it raised no suspicion or outcry at the time, and for more than two thousand years has been stupidly supposed to be a genuine work of Moses!

3. But what is the real relation of Deuteronomy to the three middle books of the Pentateuch? It is claimed by the Wellhausen school that there are three different codes or groups of laws traceable in the books of Moses, of which the most ancient is the Book of the Covenant, embracing Exodus xx–xxiii, adapted to an early period of the national life, and recognizing a plurality of altars or local sanctuaries. Next in order is the Deuteronomic Code, which aimed to abolish the local sanctuaries and centralize the national worship at Jerusalem. The Levitical legislation followed at a later date, was first planned during the exile, and appears in outline in Ezekiel's writings, but was worked over and incorporated in the three middle books of our Pentateuch by Ezra, or one of his contemporaries. Deuteronomy, accordingly, becomes the oldest book of the Pentateuch, and the other books, in their principal contents and present form, are post-exilian.

That different stages of legislation are traceable in the Pentateuch, and that the Book of Leviticus contains a more elaborate priestly code than appears in Deuteronomy may be readily admitted. Our present concern is to know whether these codes are inconsistent with each other, or of such a nature that

they might not all have originated in the times of Moses. The main arguments against the traditional belief rest upon an alleged inconsistency in the different codes touching (1) places of sacrificial worship, (2) the offerings required, (3) the number of feasts, and (4) the distinction between priests and Levites.

1. *Places of Sacrificial Worship.* In Exod. xx, 24, provision is made for building an altar "in all places (בְּכָל־הַמָּקוֹם) where I record my name," but according to Deut. xii, 5, *ff.*, all the offerings of Israel must be presented at a central sanctuary, "which Jehovah your God shall choose out of all your tribes to put his name there." The Levitical legislation recognizes a central altar, (Exod. xxix, 18, 38; Lev. i, 3, 5; iv, 4; vi, 14,) but its provisions are applicable both to the tabernacle in the wilderness, or to the temple at Jerusalem.

There is no inconsistency between these different legal regulations. The first legislation, made at Sinai, provides for an unsettled people, contemplates future journeyings, and the probable need of successive altars at different places. It does not allow the erection of altars on every high hill, or wherever the people or their leaders choose to place them, but only at such places as Jehovah should designate. This is perfectly compatible with the Deuteronomic order for a central sanctuary, made nearly forty years later, when Israel was about to enter the land of promise. The Deuteronomic law itself explains that this regulation would be in place only after Jehovah had given them full possession of the land. Deut. xii, 9–11. Moreover, there is nothing in Deuteronomy inconsistent with the supposition that, after the central sanctuary had been divinely chosen, Jehovah himself might, under exceptional circumstances, authorize sacrifice in other places. The critics urge that the sacrifices at Bochim (Judg. ii, 5) and at Ophrah, (Judg. vi, 26,) the offerings of Manoah (Judg. xiii, 19, 20) and Samuel (1 Sam. vii, 9, 17) and David, (2 Sam. xxiv, 25,) and the prevalence of local sanctuaries of later times, are evidence that the Deuteronomic law was unknown to the holiest men of Israel. But the history shows that these exceptional altars were authorized by special theophanies, or justified by peculiar circumstances. Those occurring under the ministry of Samuel are explained by the fact that the sanctuary at Shiloh

was then desolate, and Jehovah had forsaken the place where he first recorded his name. Psa. lxviii, 60, 68; Jer. vii, 12, 14. All other worship at high places was idolatrous, and, in part, a natural result of the demoralized state of the nation, when there were numerous violations of the Mosaic laws, and great ignorance and superstition prevailed among the people.*

2. *The Offerings Required.* Exod. xx, 24, mentions only burnt-offerings and peace-offerings; Deut. xii, 6, 11, speaks of burnt-offerings, heave-offerings, free-will offerings, tithes, and vows; Leviticus provides for all these, and also for the meat-offerings, (ii, 1,) and the sin and trespass offerings. Chaps. iv, v. Peace-offerings are not mentioned in Deuteronomy, except incidentally at chap. xxvii, 7, and the meat-offerings not at all. Leviticus enjoins a great number and variety of ceremonies and purifications, which are held to indicate a later period, when the priesthood had control of the nation and instituted an elaborate ritual. But every careful reader must see that the differences here pointed out are in no sense contradictory. There is nothing connected with any of these offerings that is inconsistent with a Mosaic origin. The hortatory style and purpose of Deuteronomy did not require a minute repetition of all the details of ritual which were elsewhere sufficiently recorded: and will any one contend that, when one book does not specify all the items of another bearing on the same subject, its author must have been ignorant of such omitted items? Is no other explanation possible? Surely, a theory based upon such variations as these will not be likely to command the confidence of a logical mind.

3. *The Number of Sacred Feasts.* The same kind of disparity is urged respecting the Feasts. Exodus (xxiii, 10–17)

* Prof. W. H. Green goes through the whole list of so-called "local sanctuaries," and very clearly shows "that, apart from idolatrous perversions, there was not a single sanctuary for permanent worship among them. Deduct the two or three instances, in the period of the Judges, in which Jehovah or the Angel of Jehovah appeared to men, and sacrifices were offered on the spot; deduct further the sacrifices offered when Israel had no sanctuary, after God had withdrawn from Shiloh and before the temple was built, or in the peculiar circumstances of the Ten Tribes in the life-time of Elijah—deduct these sacrifices which were due to special causes and were strictly limited to the occasion that called them forth, and there is not a particle of evidence that any one of these places was a sanctuary for the worship of Jehovah." "Moses and the Prophets," pp. 167. New York, 1882.

specifies the three feasts of unleavened bread, harvest, and ingatherings, and the observance of the seventh day and the seventh year. Deuteronomy (xv, xvi) mentions all these, except the Sabbath law, (which, however, is mentioned in chap. v, 12–15,) and the feasts of harvest and ingatherings are here called the feast of weeks and the feast of tabernacles. Leviticus mentions all these, together with the feasts of Pentecost, (xxiii, 15–21,) and of trumpets, (xxiii, 24,) and the day of atonement, (xvi,) and the year of jubilee, (xxv, 8–13.) These are simply facts of the record, but how any one can derive from them a valid argument against the Mosaic origin of any or all the accounts is more than we are yet able to comprehend. That one code, or, as we may better say, one section of the great law-book of Israel, should contain a fuller and more minute description of details than another, is certainly no strange thing. The ingenuity of a theory which traces in these various sections different and successive stages of legislation may be admired; its validity as an argument against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch is not commendable.

4. *The Priests and the Levites.* It is claimed that the first legislation (Exod. xx–xxiii) knows no special order of priests or an Aaronic priesthood; in Deuteronomy there is yet no distinction between priests and Levites, the constantly recurring expression being "the priests, the Levites," or "the priests, the sons of Levi;" but in Leviticus (viii–x) the sons of Aaron are formally set apart to the special work of the priesthood, and the other Levites appear as subordinate ministers. Here again are simple facts as recorded, but they do not warrant the conclusions which the new school critics presume to draw from them. There was no occasion in Exod. xx–xxiii to refer to the distinction named, for Aaron and his sons had not yet been set apart. According to the history itself their separate consecration followed much other legislation. Then, further, there was no occasion or necessity for Moses, in the circumstances under which Deuteronomy claims to have been issued, to recapitulate the details of priestly office and ritual, or do more than make such general references to the ministers of the sanctuary. The language employed in Deuteronomy assumes Israel's knowledge of numerous laws already established, and if we adopt the view, which the book itself abundantly warrants, that Deuteronomy

is especially "the people's book"—a more simple, practical, and hortatory repetition of the principal facts and laws of the Mosaic legislation—the mention of details of priestly office and ritual would have been manifestly out of place. What avails it to repeat over and over: "Deuteronomy knows no Levites who cannot be priests, and no priests who are not Levites."* Why not candidly face the question: Why should Moses, under the circumstances assumed in Deuteronomy, be expected to do more than allude as he does to the whole tribe of Levi as the chosen ministers of religion? He does NOT say that any Levite may be a priest. This is a notion foisted in by the critic. Why, moreover, should the school of Graf and Wellhausen try to force the proposition that from the Exodus to the Exile there was no high-priest as distinguished from ordinary priests and Levites? To affirm this in the face of the express mention of "Eleazar, the priest," (Josh. xix, 51; xxi, 2,) and "Eli, the priest," (1 Sam. i, 9; comp. ii, 27, 28,) and "the great priest" in the reign of Joash, (2 Kings xii, 10,) and of Josiah, (2 Kings xxii, 4, 8; xxiii, 4,) and of "the head priest" in the reign of Zedekiah, (2 Kings xxv, 18,) looks very much like a desperate purpose to carry out a theory at all hazards.†

What, now, may we conclude as to the relation of Deuteronomy to the three middle books of the Pentateuch? We find no evidence of the priority of Deuteronomy. We find nothing to warrant the opinion that any one of the first four books, or any considerable portion of any one of them, was composed after the death of the great lawgiver. The different legislation recorded in the several books was probably enacted at different times during the forty years of Moses's ministry, but we have no means of determining the particular date or occasion of each section of the Torah. Whatever the particular dates and sources of the various documents and laws, no sufficient reason has yet been given why the Pentateuch might not have received substantially its present form under the immediate supervision of Moses.

* Smith, "Old Testament in Jewish Church," p. 360.

† "What shall we say of a development which in the time from Moses (1320 B. C.) to Josiah (625 B. C.) only gets as far as Levitical priests, and in a single generation can develop the Aaronic priesthood and the high-priest with all his glory?" Curtiss, "The Levitical Priests," p. 163. Edinburgh, 1877.

It would be easy to add to the foregoing discussion the positive argument in favor of the Mosaic authorship, but our space forbids, and our purpose has been to show the inconclusiveness of the negative criticism. We only add in conclusion six reasons for rejecting the theories of the most recent school of the higher criticism.

1. Most of these critics enter upon the study of the Bible under a prejudice hostile to any supposable manifestation of the Supernatural in human history. Many of them confess this at the outset. With such writers all miracles are myths or legends, and he is the ablest critic who devises the most plausible theory of their origin.

2. A dispassionate study of the works of these critics begets a conviction that the detailed arguments, by which they endeavor to support their theories, are not the real steps of the process by which their conclusions were reached. The entire history of critical assaults upon the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch has been notably a succession of adjustments. One theory has given place to another, and the methods by which they have been put forward and urged are largely of the nature of special pleading to maintain a position already definitely taken.

3. The critical methods of Reuss, Kuenen, and their school are not so much based on a candid examination of all the contents of the sacred books of Israel as they are deduced from the application of a speculative philosophy of human history to these books, and an ingenious attempt to make the philosophy account for the history. Reuss tells us in the Preface of his work that his point of view is not that of the biblical history, but of the legal codes, and, beginning with an intuition, he has aimed and hoped "to find the Ariadne thread which would lead out of the labyrinth of current hypotheses of the origin of the Mosaic and other Old Testament books into the light of a psychologically intelligible course of development for the Israelitish people." * This is reversing the true logical method, which should rather formulate a philosophy of history upon an induction of facts, and not first construct the philosophy and then force the history into accord with it.

4. The arbitrary exegetical principles of these critics are not

* "Die Geschichte der heiligen Schriften des A. T.," p. 8.

of a nature to carry conviction to the minds of candid readers. Such an analysis of books and chapters as assumes with an air of dogmatic confidence to point out a variety of authors in a single paragraph, and to furnish a detailed account of all the sources from which a historian of two thousand years ago derived his knowledge, is too wonderful for us. It borders hard on the supernatural. It seems also at times to have positive acquaintance, not only with all the ancient author knew, but even with all that he did not know! Certainly, more use is often made of what the writer does not say than of what he does say.

5. The notion that Ezekiel's highly wrought vision of the temple and cultus was the outline of a priestly Torah to be observed by the exiles at their restoration to Jerusalem, is beset with insuperable difficulties. The language cannot without violence be interpreted literally. The details were never observed by the returning exiles, and the idea that Ezekiel's prophecy, issued in his own name, became the basis of an elaborate code of laws issued in the name of Moses is really too great a tax upon the credulity of earnest seekers after truth. Add to this the assumption that Ezra and Nehemiah, who wrote so much of their own work in their own name, were parties to this fictitious legislation! Why should critics make no difficulty of conceiving Ezekiel, more than forty years before the restoration, planning an imposing ritual for his nation, and yet imagine it impossible for Moses to do it less than forty years before the conquest of Canaan?

6. Finally, the assumption that an elaborate ritual and ranks of priesthood come in the natural order of development after the more spiritual word of prophecy may be boldly challenged. History shows the reverse to be true. Forms of worship, especially sacrifices and oblations, belong rather to undeveloped and imperfect periods of religious life. The Mosaic tabernacle with its elaborate cultus was admirably adapted to serve as an "object-lesson" to instruct Israel when a child. But a theory which makes the tabernacle a fiction, the priest-code an invention of Ezekiel, and the minute account of boards, and sockets, and bars, and hooks, and pillars, and curtains, and loops, and taches, and pots, and basins, and bowls, and spoons, and shovels, and plates, and pans, the conception of Jewish priests, at the

time of the exile, ought to tell us how such "bondage of the letter" fits in a theory of religious development. Is not the survival of the fittest a fundamental law of such development? But behold! the lofty lessons of Amos, Isaiah, and Micah, who, according to these critics, denounced sacrifices as a vain thing, without divine authority, and hateful to Jehovah, are superseded and overgrown by a ceremonial of outward service, concocted by designing priests, and foisted upon the chosen people in the name of Moses!

This species of criticism creates more difficulties than it solves. Its advocates may, perhaps, like Ewald, admire in portions of the Pentateuch the vestiges of an Elohistic writer so lofty as to deserve the title of the Great Unknown. We prefer to call him Moses, and identify him with that ancient man of God. Majestic lawgiver of Israel! Faithful Shepherd, who wast ever ready, in that great and terrible wilderness, to lay down thy life for the sheep committed to thy care, we honor thy name and work, whose impress upon all after time is greater than that of any other prophet save thy heavenly Lord! And though hostile critics, some almost as bitter as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram of old, have been working a hundred and twenty years to diminish thy fair fame, and have disputed over thy writings more than Satan ever disputed over thy body, thine eye is yet undimmed, thy vigor unabated. The holy books which bear thy name are themselves thy best apology, and though thou wast but a servant in the house of thy God, thou knewest Jehovah face to face, and hast fittingly been glorified with that transfigured Prophet who, as Son over the house, is truly greater than thou.

## Art. II.—THE LAST DAYS OF JOHN WICLIF—HIS DEATH.

"And when a great man dies,
For years beyond our ken,
The light he leaves behind him lies
Upon the path of men."

At this season, five hundred years ago, John Wiclif was coming near his end. He was sixty years old, prematurely worn and weary, yet so bent upon his sacred labors that some reverent hand indorsed upon his last production, "*Auctoris vita finitur et hoc opus ita*"—(The life that dropped so suddenly below the horizon bears rehearsal well.)

Of his earlier history almost nothing is known. He was born at Wiclif, a little parish on the Tees, near Rokeby. Of his ancestry, his parentage, his boyhood, nothing whatever is on record. Of his forty years' residence at Oxford only one incident is found: not a trace of his habits, not a personal allusion of any kind, can be found in all his writings. At forty he suddenly stands forth from Oxford, as Elijah stood forth from Gilead, without preliminary, to do his work, say his word, and then return to the invisible.

At sixteen he entered Queen's College, and, after a year as commoner, he joined Merton. Sometime before, Oxford had numbered 30,000 students, but at this time had not nearly so many. Since its founding by Alfred, five hundred years before, kings, prelates, and nobles had sought repose for their souls and honor for their names by endowing the various colleges of which the University was composed. Its aggregate wealth was great, and the yearly offerings to it were ample. Its income was spent upon lecturers, corresponding, in the main, to the modern professors; upon the fellows, resident graduates, who were its governing body; and upon the scholars. There was no recitation or routine of daily drill. All was done by lectures, by private study, and by public theses and disputations. The University was intensely religious; it seemed partly shrine and partly monastery. Its inmates, whatever their piety might be—and there was often a ragged edge of barbarism in their manners—were moved with zeal to learning as to a crusade.

Their studies were often trivial—this was before Bacon—but their minds were acute and their ardor noble. The student's success in rhetoric was proved by his use of rhetoric; his attainments in philosophy, by his actual presentation of philosophy.

Wiclif early shone among these thousands. He became an authority in the canon and the civil law. A bitter opponent places him "in philosophy second to none, in scholastic exercises incomparable, struggling to excel all in both subtlety and depth of disputation." The truths of Scripture early occupied his mind, and his college friends, in a pleasant way, used to call him the "Gospel Doctor." In 1350 the black death swept over Christendom, and a third of the people perished. It destroyed in London one hundred thousand persons, and the city sat in sackcloth under the appalling scourge. How often in such times have men apprehended the coming of the final terrors! Wiclif was moved to write his first known work of which a single copy remains, "The Last Age of the Church," a commentary on the Revelation. In 1361, after twenty-one years of study, he was made Master of Baliol College and rector of Fillingham, on the Lincoln levels. He was also made Doctor of Divinity—a title meaning much in those days. His portrait gives us a slight body, a face too old for its years, with full, waving beard, lips firmly set, and an air of weariness; but under his Oxford cap beams a steady eye, there is a depth in the whole look of the man. We find at Lutterworth, also, his dark, carved oaken chair, more strong than handsome, and a few other relics of the greatest heart of a hearty period.

That was a great generation in England, the most telling between Alfred and Elizabeth, and the most trying to the souls of men. Foremost in politics was John of Gaunt, son of Edward III., uncle of Richard II., and father of Henry IV., himself through his wife (that Blanche of whom Chaucer writes in the "Boke") entitled to the crown of Castile—a title that cost him dearly. He was the sturdiest upholder of plain English liberty in Church and State. With him stood Percy, Earl Marshal of England, zealous for freedom as his son Hotspur was for "bright honor;" a man so true and valiant that we doubly mourn when his fortunes went down in blood at Shrewsbury. The growth of liberty caused some excesses. Poverty and suffering from pestilence and Edward's wars were

great, and Wat Tyler's rebellion gave despotism some excuse thereafter. Still, the government of England was the best on which the sun was shining. The peasants were coming, from slaves, to be tenants of cottages and gardens at fixed rentals of money or service—a step in advance of the rest of the world. Thus began that growth of yeomanry that has given England its abiding power.

Among the literary men of this period is a queer identity of name. There has been but one John on the English throne. He was "of presence fouler than hell;" but his signing the Magna Charta gave his name an historic charm for English ears. Around the great Chaucer stood five illustrious Johns, Wiclif, Mandeville, Trevisa, Gower, and Barbour. The great Chaucer, now past the meridian of his years, was still rising toward the meridian of his power. A life-long association with the best society of England and of the Continent, personal acquaintance with the great writers "whose rhetorick so sweet enlumined Italie," and profound study of their works, a lively sense of the beautiful, a deep sympathy with every form of human feeling, and a keen discernment of differences among the mortal millions —these, with growing charms of utterance, were perfecting the author of "Canterbury Tales," the father of English poetry. He was four years younger than Wiclif. The commanding figure, the abstracted air, the courtly bearing of the great poet, who had spent his life in the most polished circles of the world, were in marked contrast with the slender form, the worn face, and keen eye of the great scholar, who until now had rarely gone from the cloisters of his college. One bond of bonds they shared—a love for the undivided Christ, whose honor each was in his own way seeking. (How sweet, like the swan's dying strain, are the last known words from Chaucer's pen: "To that life He us bring, who bought us with his blood! Amen!") They shine upon the sky of their century, differing in quality rather than in glory, and either might be called "lord of the ascendant." Together they shed upon their generation healing and gladness and splendor.

A humbler poet of the period was more closely connected with Wiclif's labors. William Langlande was laureate of the suffering and the poor. He sang from the heart and to the heart of English cottagers. He entered into the toil and

dreariness of their struggling lives. His "Vision of Piers Plowman," a series of dreams, forerunning the "Pilgrim's Progress," gave Christ as he is seen through the clouds of humanity, (somewhat as we find the Gospel in Rembrandt's paintings,) and truth comes in allegory of flesh and blood. He brought duty and patience in living forms to the hearths and homes of the poor, and cheered them with vivid pictures of the heavenly sympathy, the eternal pity, thus opening their hearts for the word that Wiclif was to give them. But we might linger overlong amid the vernal charms of English literature in the last days of Wiclif.

For its early Christian centuries England had been under Rome, not always passive, but never rebellious. The voice of Roger Bacon, the sole remonstrant, had been hushed in the dungeon where he died a hundred years before. King John had bound the kingdom to pay the pope a thousand marks (say, $10,000) a year. For about thirty years this was now unpaid. In 1365 Pope Urban V. sent to Edward III. a demand for its renewal, with payment of arrears. The king laid the matter before Parliament. Now, for the first time, Wiclif appears in public. His hour has come. He leaves his retreat and his loved and sacred task of Bible-translation just begun, and hastens to watch this issue in London. He bows before the king and queen—of England's best. He takes by the hand John of Gaunt, Earl Percy, Chaucer. He was at home among nobles and in the presence of royalty. The pope's claim was boldly handled. "No golden seal of royalty, nor the seals of a few lords whom the king coerced to join him, could supply the place of the national consent." So spoke these speakers. Refused and defied, Urban withdrew his demand. Two hundred years before, the first and ablest Plantagenet, bending his bare head at Becket's tomb, had received three stripes from each of eighty monks and five from each of twenty bishops and abbots; then, leaning barefooted against a pillar, he spent the night in fasting, not so much to avert the anger of Heaven as to appease the offended dignity of Rome. The air had changed in England!

Now arose a difficulty more serious, because internal. The poverty of Christ and his apostles has to some always seemed not merely an incident, but a force in their undertaking and a merit in their condition. Religious orders of, at first, genuine

beggars came into existence. Those founded some two hundred years before this time by Dominic and Francis had by the gifts of the faithful come to be the wealthiest bodies in England. Their establishments were, in architecture and equipment, equal to the noblest cathedrals of the Church. To secure their allegiance the pope exempted them from all control of bishops and all check of parish priests. Able and unscrupulous financiers, and thus a law unto themselves, they domineered the Church and stretched their rule beyond it. They now began a struggle for the control of all primary education and of the chairs in the universities. This roused Wiclif, and he never saw rest again.

From the Parliament that had resisted Urban he obtained an act forbidding their inviting any one to join them under eighteen years old, and ruling them out of the affairs of the university, making the king arbiter in all educational questions. This was a great victory. It marked Wiclif as champion of freedom in faith and learning, but it also marked him for the pitiless wrath of Rome. His clear eyes saw, his deep heart felt, the duty of the hour. "As roll a thousand waves to a rock," so came the friars against Wiclif. "As meets a rock a thousand waves," so Wiclif met the friars. The dispute went, of course, beyond college halls. Wiclif entered the domain of popular controversy, and spent the remainder of his strength in its stormy atmosphere.

In one respect he rose above Luther, Knox, and Calvin, above every Reformer, one thinks, of all time, unless it be that later man of Oxford, John Wesley: it is in his entire freedom from vindictive feeling. There is no insult, no harsh personality, in all his writings. Not one whose opinions or practices he most severely denounced could say that Wiclif was not his best friend. He could, he did, "hate the sin with all the heart, and yet the sinner love." He went to his stern task in the majestic vehemence of an aroused conscience, and never weakened himself by turning from a principle to a person.

One of his attacks was upon Confessions and Pardons, the exciting cause of Luther's movement in following years. Langlande had, in rugged, home-bred English, set forth the shames and wrongs of this system—really that of Indulgences—the dealers in which "rode from manor to manor, with hounds and waiting men." Chaucer gives, with fullness and finish, the

picture of a pardonere, "that streit was comen from the court of Rome."

"His wallet lay before him on his lappe, bret-full of pardons come from Rome all hot." With his "relikes" of saints and sacred things, and his winning "vois,"

> "Upon a day he gat him more moneis
> Than that the persone gat in monethes tweis;
> And thus, with fained flattering and japes,
> He made the persone and the people—apes."

Chaucer was herein of one mind with Wiclif. "There cometh no pardon but of God, and this may not be bought or sold by chattering priests." So said Wiclif loudly, and one may imagine what anger he aroused, what gnashing of teeth!

The wealth of the Church in England, as compared with the general wealth of the realm, was at this time simply enormous. The ecclesiastical income was more than ten millions sterling, (equal to ten times that sum to-day,) or twelve times the revenue of the kingdom. (The income of the Church of England, from its endowments, is now by contrast about one twelfth that of the State, twenty millions, as against two hundred and forty millions. Its income from all sources is about fifty-five millions, but in view of its great expense of keeping up its cathedrals, architecture of all kinds, etc., the Church itself is not rich, but poor.)

The Church owned more than half the soil of England, and that, too, free of taxation. The offerings at shrines, the funeral and other charges, were a separate and immense income. The pope gave the richest preferments to Italians, non-resident, and their aggregate revenue was greater than the king's. Gregory IX. drained England of a sum equal to seven hundred and fifty millions of our dollars.

No wonder that patriots were alarmed. Parliament passed the statutes of Provisors and Præmunire to stop this ruinous drainage by a foreign prelacy. On Gregory's evasion of the statutes, Wiclif went as head of a commission to remonstrate with him at Bruges. After two years of doubtful struggle the victory was with Parliament. Wiclif, for his wise and fearless conduct of the strife, was made, in 1374, rector of Lutterworth, not far from Oxford. He also continued as lecturer on theology in his own college.

In his pulpit and in his lecture-room he discussed the papacy with boldness and freedom. Loud and dark over his head rose muttering the wrath of Rome. He was summoned before a convocation at St. Paul's, but John of Gaunt stood at his side, Earl Percy was not far away, and his foes did nothing. The pope then made out five bulls against Wiclif. Before that addressed to Edward III. arrived, that king had died. Richard II., his grandson and successor, gave the pope's mandate no attention. He was too young for that; and "the good Parliament," that had resisted the pope's demand, had made the above-named statutes, and had begun to confiscate the church property, would give the bulls small favor.

The pope was not in a strong position. He was living at Avignon under the protection of the king of France, and the English despised a "French pope." Enforce his bulls he could not, yet his revenue from England was greater than that of any prince in Christendom. The flock was shaven and shorn, not fed and shepherdized.

At this low stage of spiritual decay Wiclif, roused by the pope's assault, rose up, "covered with zeal as with a cloak." He put his views of individual responsibility into an ideal theory of "dominion." To each human being was given at birth a "dominion founded in grace," as if the Creator's primal word to unfallen man, "Have thou dominion!" were perpetually respoken. In the outer world the power of the bad might constrain this "dominion," and in the mystery of providence the right might serve the wrong, and "God might obey the devil." In the domain of conscience this "dominion," held directly from God, had unbroken dealing immediately with the Giver, and was answerable to him alone. This in its real drift was Protestantism, sweeping away the mediation of priests between man and God, which had become the apparent basis of the Church, and leaving clear that Rock against which the gates of hell shall not prevail. We shall see how, as his outward man grew feebler, his mind grew ever clearer and his courage firmer.

The money question now reappears. The pope's agents were about to take from England, sorely drained by war and pestilence, an enormous sum in gold to aid in restoring his Holiness. Parliament, reluctant to see the departure of such moneys, sub-

mitted to Wiclif this question: "Whether the kingdom of England might not, in case of necessity, detain the treasure of the kingdom, though the pope himself demanded the same under pain of censure?" His reply—who could doubt that?—was, "It can so detain." He now declared, and with emphasis, his views of ecclesiastical endowments.

He held that the Church should be supported by the offerings of the faithful, as a river is fed by fresh, living fountains. He urged that priests should live, not from rents of lands or from taxes on trade, but from such incomes as their labors called forth from a people whose hearts freely responded to a faithful spiritual service. The final control of all properties should rest with the State. This view of Church temporalities brings him abreast of our own time. He stood, as first Protestant, about where Protestants stand to-day.

The clergy were touched by Wiclif's views as the silversmiths of Ephesus were touched by the preaching of St. Paul: "he takes my life, who takes the means by which I live."

Wiclif was summoned to Lambeth for trial on many charges of heresy, one of which really absorbed all others, that of holding that the pope himself was amenable to criticism and correction. The presiding archbishop was Courtenay, the same who had, as Bishop of London, presided at the trial at St. Paul's, where John of Gaunt had threatened to take him by the hair of his head. The prelates, who sat as judges, were awed by the vast concourse of Wiclif's friends from all ranks of society, and he was again victorious. This memorable year, 1377, saw his written defense presented to Parliament and scattered broadcast through the kingdom. In this he abides by his theory of "dominion," held directly and inalienably of Heaven, by virtue of which "he could not be excommunicated by the pope unless he were first excommunicated by himself." "He layeth the beams of his chamber upon the waters," and they rest securely, though the waves roar and be troubled. Wiclif had now from a Reformer become a Protestant, when his growing power seemed at once annihilated and his whole work undone. Wat Tyler's insurrection broke out. John of Gaunt and his party were paralyzed. Before the common danger from the maddening peasantry the prelates and the barons came to peace. It is not strange that they charged the outbreak on Wiclif, for

some of his followers were in it. He boldly claimed that he was ministering oil and wine to wounds that he had no share in making. It is, however, here that we must mark the end of his political power. The odium of the Peasant's Revolt, which he, least of all, deserved, took from him the alliance and sympathy of the aristocratic party.

The last tie between him and John of Gaunt, now aged and irritable, was broken when Wiclif denied transubstantiation. This standing miracle in the ritual of the mass filled the worshipers with awe, and set the humblest priest, in whose sacred hands it was achieved, above all earthly dignities. In 1381 Wiclif uttered his denial of this most central and impressive of all the Romish doctrines. In this he stood alone. The University of Oxford at once condemned. He promptly challenged to a disproval of his views any doctor or chancellor. None ventured, the panic subsided, his opponents vanished, and the university silently acquiesced in the conclusions of its great master. It was more serious that John of Gaunt enjoined him to be silent. With a pen of truer stuff than the great duke's sword, Wiclif wrote to his patron an avowal of his doctrine, calmly adding, "I believe that in the end the truth will conquer."

He now began a movement never before known in English history. The barons and the university, the supporters of his earlier efforts, he could count upon no longer. He turned squarely to the people of England. Flinging aside his Latin and his scholastic argumentation that had won the applause of learned throngs, he set himself to address the common mind in the common tongue. His genius overmastered the enterprise. He created at once a language and a rhetoric, appealing to the people in words that needed no expounding, and in sentences clear, energetic, and inspiring. His prose—he is called the father of English prose—is to-day terse, ringing, and intelligible to all plain English listeners, whether among the miners of Yorkshire, the tradesmen of London, or the cowboys of Colorado. Pamphlet after pamphlet he wrote and circulated full of daring denials, backed by brief, clear arguments, of most that Rome held dear—of pardons, indulgences, absolutions, the worship of saints, and pilgrimages to shrines. How these went abroad in the land we shall see presently. They went

evesy-where, and they worked so effectually that it came to be said that every second man was a Wicliffite.

Postponing discussion of his Bible-work until we have traced his career as reformer, we hope still to avoid confusion of ideas.

In 1382 Courtenay, Wiclif's bitterest opposer, presented to a council twenty-four propositions taken from his works for official condemnation. During the discussion an earthquake shook London, but the fierce primate explained it to the frightened council as an omen of what they should do to heresy, and ten propositions were condemned. Courtenay enjoined the chancellor to silence the preaching of these things at Oxford. "I dare not," was the answer. Such was the influence of the "Gospel Doctor" in the home of his life, the center of his labors. The king and council had made an order enforcing the decree of Courtenay. Wiclif procured the recall of this order. Victory gave him no rest. The relentless archbishop, triumphant as he was, through John of Gaunt's favor, (how changed within five years!) over free thought and speech at Oxford, dared not proceed further against Wiclif. An alliance was framed between the prelates and those Franciscans and Dominicans whom Wiclif, as reformer, had so grievously offended. We saw them hostile to each other. "Pilate and Herod are made friends to-day," said he, bitterly; "they made a heretic of Christ: it is easy for them to count simple Christians heretics." They summoned him in 1383 before the Convocation of Oxford, as being a member of the university, to be tried for his denial of the Real Presence. He was sick, but he roused himself for his answer with amazing energy. He not only sent to the king and Parliament a petition for a full hearing, but he attacked his enemies with new vigor. He restated all his points of doctrine, and demanded the free teaching of his views of the Eucharist, and this in the shadow of the cloud portentous of his ruin.

At length he came before his Convocation. In this, his last answer, no man stood by him. He was in a dreary case, feeble, friendless, and alone, amid scowling enemies. Such change had come in his old home! He made his defense, and never had he shone so brightly as master of learning and logic. His enemies could not resist the wisdom and power with which he

spake. Set to condemn him, they expressed no judgment, but they summarily expelled him from the university. This was his last trial, his last triumph, his last indignity. He rose up and turned his weary feet from that seat of learning where for forty years he, the last of the great schoolmen, had been the chief luminary, and which, since its founding, none had so adorned with a great and venerable name, or had so fulfilled the founder's prayer. He found a safe retreat at Lutterworth.

Let us now review the task which absorbed his energies, which gave him his greatest influence and his enduring fame. Ardent as Wiclif was for the welfare of England and the Church, he well knew that conviction, zeal, and love, which give doctrine all its life, must be nourished by the divine Mind, the eternal Heart. Reformers come and go, but the word of God abides forever.

In 1360 he set himself to the translation of the Bible into English. For this work he had come to a moral fitness by profound and patient study, by which he was convinced that the Bible alone gives a full and faultless rule of faith and practice. "God's will," he said, "is plainly revealed in the two Testaments, which a Christian man, well understanding, may thence gather sufficient knowledge during his pilgrimage here on earth."

He decided that England's greatest need was the Bible for the people, without note or comment, to be illuminated and enforced upon their apprehension by the eternal Spirit. To furnish this became the sole and sacred task of his life, to which most of his other doings were but incidental. Years had told heavily upon his slender frame, and palsy was touching his arm; but there was clearness in his thought and unfaltering courage in his spirit.

His was the first version in a modern tongue of Europe, as the Russian, of 1877, is the last. Between Alfred, who translated the Commandments, and Wiclif, five or six had done something of this work, but in 1360 the Psalms alone were known in English. He made his version from the Latin, the Vulgate of Jerome, not from "The Greek and Hebrew of the Holy Ghost." Two men were effectual helpers. Nicolas Herford worked with him on the Old Testament until, under imprisonment and threat of worse for heresy, he forsook Wiclif.

The other, John Purvey, comforted his master's declining years, and after his death completed, in 1395, a revision of his work.

In his retreat, at Lutterworth, Wiclif toiled at this great task—toiled patiently and hopefully. If once that Book were in the people's hands, his foes might do as they liked with *him;* the light thus kindled they would never be able to extinguish! About some items of his work there hangs an obscurity. Whether he began with the Psalms or the Revelation; whether he finished the entire Bible, or the New Testament only, in 1380; whether, even, he began his work in 1360 or 1378, are questions debatable but unimportant. Clearly, this was the absorbing task of his later years, at which he toiled by his late evening lamp in winter, and in the early sunlight of summer, now at his college, and now at his rectory, that he might unveil to common eyes the sacred truth. He would add nothing of note or comment. His theory of "dominion with grace" involved the right of private judgment. If the Bible might but lie on the cotter's table, he would leave to the Holy Ghost, not to trammels of human comment, the guiding of the cotter's opinions.

December 2, 1380, is fairly taken as the era of Wiclif's Bible, an era for England and for mankind. Though this was a lifetime before the art of printing the Book, yet penmanship was now in its golden age in England, and the copying of manuscripts was not only a fine art, but also the bread-winning vocation of thousands. The Book hastened on its errand. Richard's queen, Anne of Bohemia, read it early and to good purpose. She brought many of her countrymen to Oxford for biblical study. Thus were carried to Bohemia those ideas for which, in the next century, Huss and Jerome laid down their lives. Many of the nobility patronized the work after the queen's example, and of the middle classes numbers aided in the cost and labor of the ample copying.

Now came into happy service a class of laborers whom Wiclif had already raised up and organized, the forerunners of Wesley's itinerants, or even of Booth's soldiers. They were "the simple priests." The clergy laughed at their rude sermons and long russet frocks, but the common people heard them gladly. These at once began to read the Bible to crowds that bent forward entranced as those who, after a long night,

catch the flush of rising dawn. And now in English homes was a music before unknown!

It is a crisis in the history of a language, one of intense linguistic interest, when it is made the vehicle of the divine Word, as the Chinese has in our day illustrated. It is always attendant upon a crisis in the religious history of a people. How forcible, then, are right words—phrases that readily blend with the popular thought and tinge the common consciousness! Wiclif's English was equal to the demand, and the Holy Ghost was not straitened therein. All that holy men of old had spoken came to his countrymen in its original fullness and power. To him we owe our sacred dialect; a style of our language which all recognize and reverence, and from which none of our versions has departed. How "tuneful sweet" is this! (Matt. vii, 27:) "And rayn came down, floodis camen, and wyndis blowen, and thei hurliden into that house, and it felle down, and the falling down thereof was grate."

When Wiclif was driven from Oxford the glory of the university departed. Soon it had but a fifth of the students that had crowded to hear the "Gospel Doctor." In our day the venerable institution has reared the monument of the illustrious scholar whom it was compelled to repudiate. Under its patronage two faithful men, Forshal and Madden, after more than twenty years of labor, have given in four ample folios the version of Wiclif, and that revision which he began and Purvey finished, through the university press. In the Chicago Library these noble volumes, given by Oxford to the city after the fire, with pages like prairies and print undimmed by the industrial atmosphere, offer endless charm to the student of sacred thought and of the English tongue.

Now louder rose the cry of heresy. Wiclif stood up and hurled the word back on those who shouted it: "Those are heretics who hold that the law of God may be learned only from the lips of priests, and that men should not have it in the language best known to them." During his life Rome made no effectual hinderance. Copies of the Bible were scattered far and wide. A few years before this, Queen Philippa had taught her people to cheer their homes by using coal as fuel. By introducing coal as she had done, she had inaugurated England's career as a nation great by its great industries. A similar work

did Wiclif in English hearts. The results on private piety and public conscience went to prepare England for her place as the foremost Christian nation.

Rome looked on the Bible in English with those eyes always and every-where the same. She hated it with a perfect hatred. In 1390 a bill condemning it and forbidding its circulation, was introduced into the House of Lords. Gaunt was there, and rousing himself in the noble spirit of his nobler days, he procured the rejection of the bill. It could hardly have passed the Commons, and Richard was in favor of the Bible. Foiled in Parliament, the priests kept their wrath warm by the passage of the Arundel Constitution, a decree purely ecclesiastical. Its purport was, that no unauthorized person should translate into English any part of the Holy Scripture, or read in public or private any such translation, under pain of the greater excommunication; that is, the committing of the body to the flames, and of the soul to the devil. This terrible decree awaited its time like a sword sharp and bright in its scabbard.

Its time came. Richard's great error placed himself in a dungeon to die, and his cousin on the throne to reign. This was John of Gaunt's son, Henry IV. of Lancaster. All was now changed. Henry was like his father in the energy and intellect that marked the whole Plantagenet line, but with piety and freedom he had no sympathy. To gain the support of the priests he let them have their own way. They quickly drew that blade, and red it was ere they returned it! To possess any portion of Wiclif's Bible was made a capital crime. Houses were searched, and men and women were put to death for having or reading a scrap of Scripture. It was a reign of terror indeed!

We were noticing Wiclif's "simple priests." To these had joined themselves a large class of humble helpers, readers of the Bible from house to house, as are now so many good women in the zenanas of India and the homes of Japan. They took with them also tracts of his writing in the plain, strong speech of plowmen and mechanics, the first hearty specimens of our pamphlet prose. On these poor servants of Christ, known as Lollards or Babblers, fell the stroke of wrath. They drank of their Master's cup, and were baptized with his baptism. As Herod had done with James, the brother of John, because he

saw it pleased the Jews, so did Henry with these faithful men because he saw it pleased the priests.

The smoke of their burning gave the air of England a taint unknown for a thousand years, since the Druids had vanished from the groves that they had made awful with human sacrifice. Such deeds were shocking in the son of Gaunt! These poor men were his best subjects. He was not a Nero to enjoy this havoc. He wished the favor of Rome, and this was its price! Wiclif's work was not wiped out. Hundreds of his manuscripts survived; some sewed into bedding; some built into walls; some buried in the earth. They fed, even in troublous times, that secret conscience, that silent grasp of truth and freedom, that prepared five millions to be turned to Protestantism in a day, and Henry VIII. so turned them because they wished to be turned. So with action and counteraction has England fared on toward becoming what Wiclif wished it to be and tried to make it.

Let us resume his personal history. After his expulsion from Oxford he came up no more out of his dearly loved parish of Lutterworth. Few and feeble were his days now remaining. His central work was the revising of his translation—of which he might have said in Angelo's words concerning his masterpiece at Florence, "Like thee I will not build; better than thee I cannot"—for how is the revision an improvement upon the translation? But this weapon, on which to the last he was forging, was in other hands to work the discomfiture of his foes and Truth's. He was assiduous in the care of his flock, and so vigorous was his mind that three hundred of his parish sermons, clear, fervent, and practical, escaping his enemies, have come down to our day. So did the flame burn brightly until the mortal socket was at last reached and consumed.

The English prelates now appealed to the pope, and obtained a brief ordering Wiclif to appear at Rome. We may know what that meant! Toward Rome heretics walked with unreturning feet. He made answer to the effect that his failing health compelled him to forego such pleasure. The last words from his pen may be quoted from this answer, in which the courage that never quailed assumes the tone of irony. "I am always glad," said he, "to explain my faith to any one, and above all to the Bishop of Rome; for I take it for granted that if it be ortho-

dox, he will confirm it; if it be erroneous, he will correct it. I assume, too, that as chief vicar of Christ upon earth the Bishop of Rome is of all mortal men most bound to the law of Christ's Gospel, for among the disciples of Christ a majority is not reckoned by simply counting heads in the fashion of this world, but according to the imitation of Christ on either side. Now Christ, during his life upon earth, was of all men the poorest, casting from him all worldly authority. I deduce from these premises, as a simple counsel of my own, that the pope should surrender all temporal authority to the civil power, and advise his clergy to do the same."

The words of Wiclif, the first Protestant, are ended, nor could they have ended more fittingly!

He died at his post. He was conducting divine service on the last Sunday of 1384 with his loved and loving people of Lutterworth. Paralysis came down to him with noiseless, air-drawn touch, as of an angel's beckoning finger. He was borne from his church like a warrior from a field of battle. He was at rest. His last days had been twenty years of stormy strife, in which every day had seen a battle, and every battle a victory, and now came three days of heavenly peace. His soul overflowed with gladness, a kindly light was on his face, and he seemed to breathe the air of paradise. In the closing hours of the year he entered upon the eternal years amid the solemn troops and sweet societies of the true and the brave on high. Devout men carried Wiclif to his burial, and made great lamentation over him.

The church of St. Mary, that in which he preached and in which he was buried, still overlooks the pleasant town of Lutterworth. It is of the pointed architecture that prevailed in the century before Wiclif, and though its boast is of but one great and illustrious name, we look on it with a concentered sensibility unfelt in Westminster Abbey. There hangs his portrait on the vestry wall; in that pulpit he was preaching when "Heaven's usher of the white rod" touched him to escort him elsewhere; on that table he wrote; in that chair he died; he even wore that tattered robe, a very shred of which one might beg for memory! And the quiet waters of that stream were once strewn with his ashes! The lapse of time that deals heavily on this old building, leaves that still beautiful which

once was so, and the associations here are fresh and unwithering. The thoughtful tourist will rather leave some places of more pretense unvisited.

Years passed on, and up to the end of the century the dawn of Reformation grew warmer and brighter. Other times then came, as we have already indicated. In 1400 Chaucer died. John of Gaunt was already gone. Only one of Wiclif's great protectors, Percy, father of Hotspur, was remaining. Henry IV., following Richard II., gave all his influence to Rome, and the followers of Wiclif fell on evil times and evil tongues. They found no comforter, none to hinder the swift wrath of their foes from its dire sweep of vengeance. Their master's writings were publicly burned, and every curse found in the Romish formulas of anathema was heaped upon his name. But how could they degrade him to whom the Master had said, "Well done!" How disquiet him who had entered into the joy of his Lord!

One weak display of hatred, like that which disgraces the foes of Oliver Cromwell, was within their reach. The bones of the heretic, buried in the chancel of the church where he had preached, were defiling a consecrated ground. His enemies had long chafed in vexation over his peaceful death and burial. "Strange, indeed," says Fuller, "that a hare hunted with so many packs of dogs should die at last quietly sitting on his form!"

In 1428, when in the ruin of the Lollards all spiritual life seemed trodden out in England—when the profligacy of the "Club Parliament" and the avarice and cruelty of the army in France blackened the English name—when in all Christendom the one pure, heroic figure was Joan of Arc—in this midnight of Church and State the last foul deed was done. Wiclif's remains were unearthed and burned upon the bridge spanning the little river Swift, that runs past Lutterworth, and the ashes thrown into the stream to defile English soil no longer. Rejected from consecrated ground, he gained a boundless sepulcher. "The whole earth," says Pericles, in his funeral oration, "is the tomb of illustrious men." Fuller says, "This brook did convey his ashes to the Avon, Avon into the Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean; and thus the ashes of Wiclif were the emblems of his doctrine, which is

now dispersed the wide world over." So, indeed, it is dispersed! On what shore has the Bible in English not been read! What laws and institutions of our race has it not affected! In what country has it not caused some one to say, "My spiryt hath gladid in God my helthe!" (From the Magnificat, Luke i. 46.) It has influenced every generation that has "hastened stormfully across the stage out of the darkness east into the darkness west."

In 1455, seventy years after Wiclif's death, the first book was printed. It was the Mazarin Bible in Latin, of which six copies are said to be now existing; one being in the Lenox Library of New York, another at Hartford. About twenty years later Caxton printed a Bible in England. Thus within a century came two great biblical epochs of transition—from Latin into English, and from penmanship into print. Think of the slow toil of Wiclif's penman, and then note that since 1804 Bible societies alone (to say nothing of other publishers) have printed and distributed more than one hundred and eighty million Bibles, Testaments, and portions of Scripture! But we must take our leave of the great Schoolman, Translator, Reformer, and Protestant. It is fitting to pause at the five hundredth anniversary of his death, the last day of this year. "Wist ye not that this daye is a prince, nay, a greate manne fallen doune in Israel?" The lips of those that can speak well should rehearse his virtues and his toils, and all who love and have freedom by the truth should glorify God in him.

Wiclif! Now half a thousand years are sped
Since to the music of our English tongue
Those thin white fingers cunningly did wed
What holy men of old had said or sung!

First Protestant! First scholar for the poor!
First to tell out in homeborn, fireside speech,
To simple folk within their cottage-door,
What words of life those sacred lips did teach.

As comes the star upon the dim, sad sky
To tell of dawn upon its rosy way,
So from our Orient, serene and high,
Thy beams presage our bright and golden day.

Hard was thy task, strong Heart! Still struggling on
Against the scowl of bitter monk and priest;
Palsied and sick; and yet thy work was done,
And follows thee, now entered into rest.

Bend from thy rest, if it be given, O Saint,
Now worn and baffled in thy toil no more!
Hark! How thy language, tuneful, clear, and quaint,
Tells the glad tidings upon every shore!

What though thy foes in feebleness of wrath
Thine ashes on the wandering waters flung?
The reverent waters smoothed for thee a path
O'er smiling tides all lands and isles among.

And when thy work's millennium shall be,
Can that millennium yet linger long,
When o'er all nations Truth has victory,
And Peace lifts up her sweet and endless song?

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## Art. III.—THE LOGIC OF RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

The logic of religious belief has always been a puzzle even to religious thinkers, and a downright scandal to the irreligious. As we look along the line of human thinking we see a number of perennial beliefs which seem to exist apart from logic, and often in defiance of it. The existence of God, the efficacy of prayer, a moral government of the universe, and life beyond the grave, are examples. Men have always made a show of argument for these beliefs, but often, it would seem, mainly for form's sake. The arguments offered have varied from age to age, and often from man to man. Moreover, even religious thinkers have rejected all of them at one time or another as illogical and worthless. In every case, soon or later, there comes a point where strict logical consecution fails, and where the passage from premise to conclusion is made by an appeal to faith, or feeling, or some other illogical element. And yet, to the dismay of the logicians, the beliefs live on in perennial freshness and power. In such cases it would seem that we do not hold our beliefs because we can prove them, but we try occasionally to prove them because we hold them; and finally, we insist on holding them whether we can prove them or not.

This state of affairs has given rise to manifold speculations. Many religious thinkers have seen in these facts a proof that religious truth does not come within the jurisdiction of logic, and they have moved to change the venue by an appeal to feeling,

or to some special faith-faculty or religious sentiment. Intuitions, too, have been largely appealed to and highly esteemed. The eagle soul, it was said, has wings, and should soar to the mountain-top instead of painfully dragging itself upward by the sole force of beak and claws. The more gifted declared that they had no need of aid from either logic or revelation, as they possessed the witness in themselves. They were quite content to resign religious arguments to be hacked and hewed by irreligious logicians, and, indeed, they did not a little of this work themselves. Some of the severest critics of the attempt to reason out religious truth have been believers. From this high stand-point of faith, or sentiment, or intuition, many even ventured to make an onslaught on the speculative faculty itself. The metaphysicians have not succeeded well enough in their attempts to construct a logical theory of things to make an alliance with them especially desirable. We need only mention the names of Plato, Descartes, Leibnitz, Spinoza, Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Hegel, Mill, Bain, and Spencer, to see that the speculative faculty has not much room for the pride of success. The human race has done some fantastic things in the ways of religion, but certainly nothing more fantastic than it has done in the way of speculation. From the beginning, speculators have been a race "mad with logic and fed on chimeras," so that the very term has become a reproach. There have always been men possessed of the speculative mania who have flown in the face of consciousness and good sense, and who have denied all the principles by which men and nations live, simply to carry through a theory. Mephistopheles was certainly right when he declared that "a speculating fellow is like a beast on blasted heath led round in circles by an evil spirit." Science itself did not begin until it left off logic-chopping, and took to studying facts. As long as men tried to tell what could be and what could not be, instead of inquiring what is, words and empty formalism were the only result. Within the Church, also, periods of rationalizing have always been periods of dearth and death; so much so, that rationalism has become almost synonymous with irreligion. Many have succeeded in arguing themselves out of religion, but seldom into it. Facts of this kind have strengthened the conviction that religion must have other than a speculative basis. It would be

too bad if one could not be moral until some one had constructed a theory of morals, and had solved all the metaphysical puzzles which lie at the foundation of a moral theory. It would be too bad if we could not worship except as permitted by some ephemeral system of metaphysics. It is not to be thought of, then, that religion should be forced to carry any speculative system, whether it be the Leibnitzian monads, the Herbartian reals, the Hegelian idealism, or even the doctrine of evolution.

To one sore from the buffetings, and grieved by the gainsayings, of logic, such freedom could not fail to be welcome. It seems to be a distinct teaching of experience; and it also sets religion on high, far above logic and its wordy wars. But it has likewise its disadvantages. It looks like an admission that religion has nothing for the reason or the intellect. It is rather a kind of "dark lantern of the spirit" which is not to be used in the realm and light of intelligence. The latter must always remain an unbeliever, and look coldly on while heart and conscience worship. Moreover, the feelings and intuitions, left to themselves, have made very sorry work of it. Feelings have grown faint and intuitions dim. It has been very hard to adjust them to one another, and harder still to adjust their psychology. Hence in the realm of religion itself there has long been an oscillation between rationalism and sentimentalism, and a chronic inability to rest in either.

To irreligious thinkers, on the other hand, the illogical nature of religious reasoning has always been a scandal. They have armed themselves with a logic variously described as rigorous, remorseless, relentless, pitiless, etc., and with this they have produced numberless formulas of exorcism against religion. These extend from single syllogisms and epigrams to bulky volumes, and have been incessantly repeated over the possessed for centuries, but without effect. Occasionally a fresh speculator, generally young and inexperienced, re-utters a familiar exorcism with unwonted warmth, and looks confidently to see the evil spirit depart; but, somehow, if the demon does vanish for a time, he soon comes back in a worse form than before. For example, Comte drove out Christianity and ended by setting up a mixed system of ancestor and progeny worship. Strauss and Clifford, also, after getting clear of God, propose to us to worship the Cosmos, thus getting back to nature-

worship. Suggestions of similar atavism in religion are not wanting in much current speculation. So the rare and choice minds which for a time were empty, swept, and garnished, and which, indeed, were most efficient in pronouncing the exorcising formulas, become themselves possessed by the evil spirit, and that, too, in a somewhat degraded form. This disappointing outcome of their well-meant endeavors has soured, somewhat, our irreligious thinkers. They conclude that religion does belong to our nature, but to the irrational side of it. It may be based on feeling or instinct, or on some blind impulse; at any rate, it is not based on reason. As rational, we are not religious; and as religious, we are not rational. They regret, of course, to see the irrational win such a victory over the rational, especially as such vast practical interests are involved; but this must be reckoned to the innate stupidity of the universe, which is but a poor affair after all. Here the ways divide. Some regard the religious sentiment as a temporary product of development, but as something which cannot safely be disregarded while it lasts. So they look over their speculative treasures to find a sop with which to quiet it, not without a sigh, however, at finding humanity so set in costly delusions. What progress might not the race make if the money and energy expended in bootless worship were devoted to the scientific training and amelioration of mankind. Others, again, are less patient and more determined. Religion, they declare, is nothing but a projection of human desire and passion upon the external universe, and is believed simply because men want to believe it. As for the argument in its favor, it is so weak that it would be immoral to accept it. They are quite at a loss to know whether the persistency of religious teachers in maintaining their superstitions is due to imbecility or to immorality. These teachers, they say, instead of proving their doctrines, preach them. Most of them, of course, are utterly ignorant of the controversies which rage about the foundations of their doctrines. One would think that before preaching religion it would be well to find out whether there is such a thing as religion. But the preachers go on praying and preaching when the whole world knows that the bottom fell out of religion long ago. Evidently they think it compatible with honesty to teach what they do not know. Still we must not be too hard on men who

have to make their living. Some get a living in one way, and some in another. Utterances of this sort are familiar to every reader. In one shape or another they form the staple of the "trenchant arraignments" of religion in which polemic literature abounds.

The solution of this outstanding puzzle must be sought in a better knowledge of the psychology of belief; for the puzzle itself arises from a false theory of belief. We shall see that the charge of bad logic lies equally against our entire mental procedure. We shall see also that our deepest beliefs are not deduced, but grow; they are not made by logic, but developed from life. In fact, in these fierce demands for logic there is an almost infantile oversight of the conditions of human existence and of the facts of mental development. They rest upon the implicit assumption that man is an abstract speculator without any sort of practical interests or necessities. Hence he must begin, like Descartes, by rejecting all postulates and assumptions of every kind in order to find some invincible fact or principle; and when this is found, he must admit nothing which cannot be deduced from it. Wherever he comes to the end of his logic he must stop. If this ideal were adopted we should have only knowledge in the mental outcome, and belief would be unknown. Again, if we were purely abstract speculators, this ideal might be made the standard of our mental operations. But as it is, this ideal applies only to mathematics. Here we begin with self-evident intuitions, and deduce our conclusions from them with perfectly cogent logic. Mathematics is the field of knowledge, and knows nothing of belief. It will not even hear of probability, except as a subject of discussion, and the truths reached about probabilities are themselves not probable but demonstrated. But this idea is inapplicable to reality, and the method is speculatively barren. By means of it Descartes came to his "I think, therefore I am," and there he stuck fast. He could reach neither the world of things, nor the world of persons, nor the world of laws. The method was very rigorous, but it left thought without any object. It is well known that no theory of perception whatever can demonstrate that the apparent object exists apart from perception. That something not ourselves exists is certain, but that that something is identical with sense-objects is not only unproved

but unprovable. The difficulty in laying the idealistic specter is proof of this. Our world-vision is primarily an effect in us, but that the cause must be like the effect cannot be demonstrated. Again, in daily life we live on a basis of probability. Most of the axioms by which men and societies live admit of no demonstration. Practical life, from the humblest concerns of the poor up to the guidance of states, is a kind of knack; and no one makes so sorry work in this field as the fanatical logician. In this field, too, thought has the sole function of guiding life. It does not exist for itself, but only for its outcome. Hence the great aim is not to be technically logical, or speculatively correct, but to be practically successful. This is the great realm of common sense, where practical sagacity is worth more than theory, and where the ability to bring things to pass outweighs any amount of impracticable logic. Some great thinkers, notably Kant, have claimed that thought never has any other than this practical, or teleological, function. The history of speculation shows that thought can only lose itself in pathless labyrinths when it aims at speculative knowledge. It should therefore be restricted to the practical ends which are set for us either by our physical life or by our moral and religious nature; and the attempt formally to prove or disprove fundamental beliefs should be looked upon as a mark of arrested, or at least incomplete, development. We need not subscribe to this extreme view, however, to see that the speculative ideal is inapplicable to practical life, and that belief is molded by practical aims and necessities rather than by the processes of logic.

The true nature of belief can never be understood apart from this fact. The human mind is practical rather than speculative. It lives and acts and has experiences long before it speculates and theorizes. In its practical unfolding, it adjusts itself in a measure to the universe, but in a still greater measure it adjusts the universe to itself. In so doing it makes a great variety of practical postulates and assumptions which are not logical deductions, but a kind of *modus vivendi* which the mind has established with the great world of things. The mind does not ask whether it has a right to live, but it lives; and in living it develops a frame-work of principles which represent the conditions of its fullest life. It has not time to speculate;

it assumes. It has not time to theorize; it takes for granted. The pressure of practical existence is upon it; and it must adjust itself practically before it can attend to speculative problems. Thus man did not begin by inquiring into the implications of ethical existence and by settling all the metaphysical difficulties involved therein, but he began by being ethical, and by implicitly assuming all which that implies. He did not prove that he had a right to be ethical, but he found himself such. He did not resolve the metaphysical puzzles in the notion of freedom, but he found himself compelled to regard himself and his fellows as responsible, and hence as free. Likewise, man did not begin by demonstrating the possibility and obligation of religion, and by proving that the objects and relations which it implies exist, but he began by being religious, and by assuming those objects and relations. They were implied in being religious, and he was as sure of them as he was of his religion. No more did man begin by theories of knowledge and by routing all skeptics and agnostics; but he began by knowing as a matter of course. No one can hope to understand the mind who regards it as a logic-machine. It is rather a living organism with manifold interests and necessities, and without thought of logic it proceeds to assimilate the universe to them. The result is, an outgrowth of beliefs, which are the outcome, not of logic, but of life. They are not reasoned truths, but represent the tendencies of our nature, or a mental concordat with existence.

These considerations, however, only refer to the origin of belief, and do not establish its truth. We may allow that belief has a highly complex genesis which admits of no very clear presentation; but we must not affirm that therefore belief has no accountability to logic. That men do believe does not prove that they have a right to believe. Hence, after the genesis of a belief has been described its truth remains an open question. It is therefore the province of logic to go through the luxuriant growths of credulity and cut down such as cannot prove their right to exist. This brings us to the distinction between the causes and the grounds of belief, and raises the question, What constitutes the grounds of belief?

This question also can best be answered by observing the actual procedure of the mind. Beliefs fall into two classes

which are psychologically very different. Beliefs of the first class are those which are deduced from facts, either as their explanation or as their consequence. They are not knowledge because they do not compel acceptance; but they may be rational, because the probabilities are in their favor. Scientific theories are examples, and so are the manifold assumptions and expectations which make up what we call common sense. A physicist believes in the ether or a chemist believes in the atoms because the phenomena seem to call for the assumption. A man says, "I think it will rain to-morrow," or, "I think there will be a financial crisis or a European war before long." All of these beliefs have a double peculiarity. First, they are founded on objective facts, and are offered either as explaining the facts or as resulting from them. Second, their strength varies directly with the objective evidence. If new facts are found which do not fit easily into the scientific theory, doubt begins. If the clouds grow thinner, or the barometer rises, we are not so firm in our expectation of rain. If we hear that the crops are turning out better than we expected, we begin to think of postponing the crisis. All such beliefs belong to the realm of probability; that is, our belief rises and falls with the amount of objective evidence. We take all the facts into account, and our belief is the resultant average. Beliefs of the second class are not founded on objective facts, but on subjective tendencies, and express only subjective interests or postulates. They are not inferences from given facts, either as their explanation or as their consequence. They are rather the implication of our nature itself, or its reaction against our total experience. They are also psychologically different from the preceding class of beliefs in that they are not matters of probability, and our conviction does not rise or fall with each new fact experienced, but only with the intensity of the emotion which produced it. In the realm of probability, opposing facts weaken belief; but here they are set aside as something not understood, and do not weaken our faith.

The belief in God illustrates both classes of belief, as it is really a compound of both. Theistic faith has a double root in our mental life. First, God appears as an hypothesis to explain the facts of experience, or to satisfy the demand of the reason for a sufficient cause. As thus conceived, theism belongs

to the realm of probabilities, and our faith should vary directly as the evidence. Second, God appears as the implication of our esthetic, moral, and religious nature, or as satisfying certain subjective interests, tendencies, and emotions. From this standpoint our faith in God is less an inference than an assumption; or rather, it is an act of faith which varies with no estimate of probabilities, but only with the strength of the feelings which produced it. When these feelings are very strong, the faith is called an intuition, and the proposal to prove the divine existence is derided as needless, and, perhaps, resented as sacrilege. Every step toward argument is a step away from that living apprehension of God in which alone he can be truly known. Sometimes this exalted state of feeling is erected into a special organ, or faculty, which is the true medium of spiritual vision and divine revelation. But apart from these extravagances, theistic faith cannot be understood without taking account of its double source. Plato and Aristotle furnish instructive examples of the double function of theistic doctrine. Aristotle seeks only the God of reason. Plato seeks also the God of beauty and of conscience. With the former, God is metaphysically conceived and has only a metaphysical function: with the latter, God is conceived as the living and righteous God, as delighting in beauty, as maintaining a moral government over an empire of souls, and as administering righteous retribution in a future life. Unfortunately, most writers on natural theology have theoretically recognized only the argumentative source of theism. They propose to demonstrate the existence of God, or at least to render it rationally probable, by an objective consideration of facts. Their apparent success is largely due to a verbal identification of the being reached by their argument with the living God of Christianity. When power and skill in a somewhat indefinite degree have been made probable, this has been viewed as a proof of the Divine Existence in a religious sense. The esthetic demand for perfection, and the moral and religious nature, come in so naturally and spontaneously to expand this poor result into a divine ideal, that the flaw in the logic is overlooked.

That this is so, especially appears from the treatment of the problem of evil and of the divine goodness. A purely objective study of the facts, without any admixture of subjective

interests, would certainly stop short of the conception of God as at once self-centered omnipotence and perfect holiness and goodness. Such a study would aim only to find a causal explanation of the facts; and it cannot be shown that only a perfectly good and all-powerful being would be a sufficient cause. The argument for the divine holiness and goodness is based partly on the happiness of sensitive beings, but mostly on the moral nature of man. These facts, it is said, demand a moral and benevolent cause. Unfortunately, the argument rests on selected facts and ignores the rest. But over against the facts of happiness are the facts of misery, and these are neither few nor insignificant. They cannot be shown to be due to any eternal truths of reason, nor to any ontological necessity. So far as we can see, they are contingent upon an order which might have been otherwise to advantage. Likewise, over against the facts of man's moral nature, are those features of the cosmic process which make against all our ideas of righteousness. If not positively opposed to morality, the world-order is at least awfully indifferent to our moral ideals. To such an extent is this true, that the common judgment of the race has been that a future life is absolutely necessary to save the divine justice and goodness. Manifestly the divine goodness cannot be concluded from these facts, and yet they belong to the facts which must be taken into account in a purely causal explanation. If such an explanation only were needed, an Epicurean indifference to finite well-being, or an element of moral caprice in the First Cause, would be an adequate hypothesis. They are not rejected because they are metaphysically inadequate, but because they are esthetically, ethically, and religiously obnoxious. We demand an explanation which shall satisfy the conscience as well as the intellect. Accordingly, we interpret the First Cause morally; and the facts which make against this view are set aside as something not understood. We believe in a solution whose possibility we cannot now comprehend. Hence the chief strength of the arguments for the divine goodness is directed to showing that the facts of evil and suffering are not incompatible therewith. If we have the idea, we may hold it fast even in the face of the world's pain and sorrow and sin; but the positive source of the idea is not to be found in any aetiological study of the facts of existence,

but rather in the unwillingness to be put to any such utter moral and volitional confusion as would result from allowing a fundamentally immoral, or capricious, or malignant God. Hence the claim often made by Christian writers, that speculative arguments for the existence of God are religiously worthless, is not without some justification. The same fact appears also in the development of Christian theology. The necessity of finding a conception of God which should be satisfactory to our moral nature, has been the great spring of theological progress. Our conceptions have been greatly modified thereby, and the result has been the abandonment of many views which were logical enough, but which did violence to conscience. The older Calvinism was not obnoxious to the reason, but to the moral sense. The debate which led to its modification was carried on with weapons drawn, not from logic, but from conscience. The only function of logic was to show that the theory was shut up to objectionable ethical results. These results, however, were rejected on their own account; for men took for granted that conscience is entitled to a voice in deciding what may be believed. These facts in the natural history of belief, show that belief is by no means always born of a logical contemplation of facts, with the aim of discovering either their causes or their consequences; but that it is often an expression of the entire soul, in which each tendency of our nature aims to assert for itself its proper field and object. The law which the logician lays down is this: Nothing may be believed which is not proved, or at least made probable, by objective facts. The law which the mind actually follows is this: Whatever the mind demands for the satisfaction of its subjective interests and tendencies may be assumed as real, in default of positive disproof.

But these considerations also refer only to the origin of belief. They show that there are two sources of belief: first, the objective study of facts: and second, the subjective interests and tendencies of the soul itself; but they do not decide their relative logical worth, which is the point in dispute. On this point, too, there is a very considerable agreement among thinkers. Beliefs of the second class must be rejected as wishes turned into assertions, or as hopes which have mistaken themselves for truths. Sentiment of no sort may be allowed to

influence us in deciding what to believe. There is still a difference, however, among those who hold this view, as to what the facts are upon which objective belief shall be based. Some hold that the moral and religious nature is a fact which points to God as its only adequate explanation. That the conscience seeks after God as its implication and support proves nothing. That religion necessarily implies an object, and falls into contradiction without it, also proves nothing. But the existence of the conscience and of religion demands an explanation; and this must finally be found in God. Others, however, will not allow such a suggestion until all the resources of the associational psychology have been exhausted; and as these are supposed to be inexhaustible, we may well believe that both conscience and religion have a much less august origin. Accordingly, they are unwilling to recognize any thing as a ground of belief except the data of the external senses. These give us the world of fact, of experiment, observation, and verification. Whatever can certainly be deduced from such facts is knowledge; whatever they make probable is rational belief. All that lies outside of these lines is fable, fiction, and falsehood.

The value of this dictum, unfortunately, depends upon the value of sensationalism in philosophy. It is then no first principle, but one arrived at through a long course of doubtful reasoning. Proved it certainly is not, and very many hold that it is not even made probable. But overlooking this scruple, it is a widely-accepted principle that the subjective value of a belief is no mark of truth whatever. Thus the Christian world-view is superior to all others in adaptation to our practical and ideal needs. The intellect, the conscience, the heart, and the will are all recognized, and a supreme object is set before them. Neither the individual nor society could ask for more than the fulfillment of the Christian ideal. But while this fact shows a subjective adaptation, it is no proof of an objective correspondence. Neither the pleasant, nor the agreeable, nor the useful, but truth only, is the object of study and the end of research. From this high inquiry all appeal to feeling and utility must be rigorously excluded, if we would preserve our mental integrity, and not debauch ourselves with sentiment. "We covet truth" should be our only motto; and in stern loyalty to that we must follow truth at whatever cost of comfort and

disenchantment. But while the critic cannot fail to be impressed with the rugged grandeur of this ideal, he must regret that it leaves us a little in doubt as to what this truth is which is to be followed at any cost, and also that it places us between the horns of a troublesome dilemma. A theist can hardly admit with safety that our minds have such a parallax with reality that their deepest tendencies and necessities have nothing corresponding to them in the world of fact. An immoral and godless universe is a conception which could not lie long on the human mind in general without producing pernicious results, either in the form of insubordination and violence, or in the form of listlessness, paralysis, and a gradual abandonment of moral ideals. What avails it to fight the universe? On the other hand, the opposite conceptions are full of blessing both for the individual and for society. If, now, this is no ground for believing them, we are under the disagreeable necessity of admitting that a true belief may be paralyzing and pernicious, while a false belief may be necessary to our best development. When this admission is joined with the oft-heard assurance that truth can do no harm, the annoyance becomes extreme. The atheist is scarcely less embarrassed by these facts, for his conception of truth is almost exclusively teleological. Truth is the adjustment of inner relations to outer relations. The true conception is that which gives us control of the fact; in brief, the true theory is the successful theory. It follows that the true theory of life is that which leads to the largest, fullest, and highest life. The universe has evolved an almost exclusively moral and religious conception of itself, and has elevated and purified this conception from age to age. Natural selection, whose special function it is to kill off unfit beliefs, has assiduously fostered the ethical and religious world-view. But while we are confidently expecting to hear this view proclaimed in the name of evolution as the highest truth of the universe, we are suddenly, and somewhat tartly, told that the utility of a doctrine is no ground for believing it; the logic is not the best, to be sure, but it is probably the best possible under the circumstances. Its teleological character is especially prominent, and so is its final cause.

We do not succeed very well in getting clear of subjective interests so long as we deal with religious belief; but perhaps

we may escape into the realm of pure objectivity by falling back on science. There we make no reference to God or utility, but simply inquire, What is true? This is a noble aim, and is quite intelligible so long as we deal only with detailed problems, and take the common sense theory of knowledge for granted; otherwise it is somewhat obscure. Probably the first answer would be, that the true is the real. Facts are true, and truth means fact without any addition of theory. A philosophical purist might complain of this language as inexact; but as the meaning is plain we let it pass, and ask, What is a fact? especially, What is a fact unmixed with theory? Common sense points at once to the world of things as facts, free from all subjective additions and distortions; but the sensationalist, the agnostic, the relativist, and the idealist open fire forthwith, and blow this claim to pieces. The only undistorted fact in this connection is our sensations. The transformation of these into a world of things is an enormous addition to the fact, and the logical right with which it is done is far from evident. That it is done instinctively only shows that it is natural to the mind to do it; it by no means justifies the performance. Besides, instincts belong to those subjective elements from which it is the special glory of logic to save us. Again, we might appeal to the unity of belief on this point, and to the agreement of experience; but the unity of belief only reveals the constitution of the mind, and the agreement of experience only points to consistency of action in the external ground of our sensations. Such a ground there must be, but no one can show that only a certain series of material things would be an adequate ground; indeed, the more we think of it the harder it is to accept such an explanation. If, now, we are bent on having only unconditional fact or unadulterated truth, it must consist in a description of our subjective states and the laws of their combination and succession. But this truth is too pure for use or circulation, and a certain amount of alloy must be added to make it serviceable. If we allow the current theory to stand we shall have to say, Those things are real or true which the mind, because of its sensational experience, instinctively affirms to exist, which is manifestly a *petitio principii*. But if the instinctive affirmations of the mind are accepted in default of proof in the field of sense-perception, there seems

to be no good reason why similar affirmations should be rejected in the field of morals and religion.

In fact, those who demand the rejection of all subjective interests as grounds of belief have rarely any adequate idea of the extent to which they enter into our mental life. They are supposed to underlie only our moral and religious beliefs, whereas they are equally prominent in our cognitive and speculative activity. We have just seen that our objects must be taken for granted. Nor are we content to take them as they are given; we forthwith proceed to work them over in the interests of cognition. We make, as a matter of course, such modifications and assumptions as are necessary to enable us to comprehend the facts as if facts were under obligation to be comprehensible. Reality, as it exists for common sense, is the totality of things existing and events occurring at any given moment. This is fact; this is truth. But it is so far from being august or sacred that it is hard to find any but a practical value for it. That the North Pole is buried in ice and snow, that oxygen and hydrogen unite to form water, that the Mississippi empties into the Gulf of Mexico—such truths of fact are insufferably stupid except as bearing upon action. It is quite impossible to comprehend that enthusiasm for truth and its sacredness which results in setting up such truths for worship. And the mind itself is not satisfied with any such reality. We find it totally unmanageable, and we proceed to transform it, and especially to interpret it. This transformation and interpretation constitute what we call science. In this way we seek to escape from the intolerable opacity and confusion of the real to the transparency and intelligibility of the ideal. And to do this we assume that this vast totality of things and events falls into fixed classes, subject to fixed laws and bound up into a rational system. Then "interpretation" begins, and presently our ideal construction passes for the real, while the actual data of experience are dismissed as phenomena or appearances; indeed, they will be very lucky if they are not stigmatized as downright delusions. But wherefore this distortion of experience, and with what logical right does it take place? The universal reign of law is a subjective postulate. The right to interpret is a pure assumption. We make very free with facts when we distort them out of all likeness to themselves in order

to gratify our desire to understand. Of course, the scientist tells us that the universality of the law is an axiom; but logic takes upon itself to examine axioms, and generally with the result of removing their axiomatic character altogether. The truth is, that all this is done in the interests of the cognitive faculty. It is not the outcome of a logical compulsion, but rather of an esthetic craving. We could not deal with the facts without the assumption of law, but what right have we to deal with them? We could not understand the facts without assuming an intelligible order, but what right have we to understand them? We could not interpret the facts without transforming the data of experience into something utterly unlike themselves, but what right have we to interpret them, especially by distortion? Why not take things as we find them, and be content? Here common sense will ask, in a half-dazed way, if it is not the nature of the mind to seek to comprehend? Of course it is; but that does not prove that it is the nature of the universe to be comprehensible. No one doubts what the nature of the mind is; the doubt concerns the nature of things. Since there is so great a parallax between the religious nature and the nature of things, why may there not be an equally great parallax between the cognitive nature and the nature of things? The desire to find the universe intelligible is as purely subjective as the desire to find it moral. The desire to comprehend is as subjective as the desire to worship. The comprehensible universe is as pure an assumption as the religious universe. Moreover, the actual universe, that is, the universe as it is given, is not comprehensible; it is that other, assumed, ideal universe which is really intelligible, and our understanding of the actual is through the ideal. It gives one, therefore, a pleasant start of surprise to find science set apart by itself as the only objective product of the mind, while every thing else is stigmatized as subjective and fictitious. It shows such infantile trust, and also such infantile development. For from a logical stand-point science is simply an idol of the tribe, a projection into the world of reality of the subjective interests and postulates of the cognitive faculty. The atoms and ethers and molecules of science are products of the same anthropomorphic tendency which has produced gods and ghosts. Just as the moral and religious universe is said to be a projection of the

moral and religious nature, so the scientific universe is a projection of the cognitive nature.

But here it may occur to us, that there is a great difference in the cases, in that the scientific universe is reached by reasoning, while the others are not. The claim, however, is hardly tenable. If by the universe is meant the cosmos, in the sense of a completed system or a rational totality of things, the claim is absurd. In this sense the universe is only our idea of unity applied to plurality, giving us the conception of a finished and rounded whole. It is primarily a subjective ideal, and no reasoning can demonstrate its objective existence. But if by universe is meant those things and forces behind phenomena, these are indeed reached by reasoning, but by reasoning based on assumptions. The laws of thought do not take us as far as we want to go. In objective reasoning the law of the sufficient reason is the positive principle of thinking. The law of identity and contradiction is merely regulative and negative. But that law, taken in its generality, permits no specific conclusions. Thus it tells us that our sensations must have some cause, but it does not tell us what that cause is. Again, it assures us that phenomena must have some ground, but in itself it gives no hint as to the nature of that ground. Indeed, the law does not even assure us that the sufficient reason is knowable; for the agnostic as well as the dogmatist affirms a sufficient reason. They differ only as to its knowability. To get any progress out of the law we must understand the sufficient reason to mean the satisfying reason. The sufficient reason in any given case is that state of things which, being assumed, would enable the mind to comprehend the facts; that is to say, the sufficient reason is one which satisfies the mental desire to interpret and comprehend. In testing theories, also, the same fact appears. At first adequacy to the facts seems to be the final test; but if we ask what we mean by adequacy to the facts, it turns out again that the mind is the real judge of adequacy, as it is the sole source of the demand for adequate explanation. The facts themselves do not need to be satisfied, for they are not dissatisfied. No more do they demand explanation; they are quite indifferent to being explained or not. In themselves they are simply facts and events upon which the mind seizes until it has satisfied its passion for explaining. That which is

necessary to its understanding of the facts the mind assumes to be necessary to the facts themselves. To be sure, next to the weather, scientific interpretations are about the most variable thing we have; but even supposing concord and finality reached, it is far enough from self-evident that the reason which satisfies us must be the real ground of the facts themselves. This law of the satisfying reason does not rest upon any logical necessity, but rather on our cognitive instincts and an unwillingness to be put to hopeless intellectual confusion. Indeed, in all concrete thinking the need of mental satisfaction is at once the source of movement and the test of truth. In all mental activity, beyond the lowest regard to physical needs, the aim of the mind is to make a place for itself or to satisfy itself, and when such satisfaction is reached, the mind assumes that it has reached the truth.

The notion of a universe essentially incogitable is rejected because it violates our cognitive instincts, and leaves thought without an object. The notion of an immoral universe is rejected because it makes our moral nature an absurdity. The notion of a godless universe is rejected because in that case all our interests, mental, moral, and religious, must soon or later sink down into ruin. And the opposite conceptions are maintained, not because of an idle wish, but because of our inability to escape utter mental, moral, and esthetic confusion without them. Primarily, these conceptions represent the conditions of our complete mental well-being, or the demands which our mental build prompts us to make upon the universe. As to their objective validity they are all on the same logical plane. Science, ethics, and religion are alike the outcome of our mental constitution. In all of these departments the mind appears with its subjective interests and postulates, and demands that reality shall recognize them; and in all alike reality recognizes them only imperfectly. Knowledge is a vanishing point in the indefinite unknown. The power, not ourselves, also makes for righteousness, but it is only a tendency, and has, apparently, many exceptions. Likewise, the God in whom we believe reveals himself to some extent in experience, but for the most part clouds and darkness are round about him. The assured conviction we have rests not upon a logical deduction from experience, but upon the optimistic assumption that the mind has

a right to itself, and is at home in the universe. It throws itself upon the universe, therefore, in the firm faith that what its nature prompts it to seek will, in one form or another, be given. This is, to be sure, an act of pure faith; but it is a faith upon which all mental, as well as all moral and religious, life depends. And in the lack of positive disproof, or of irreducible contradiction among its assumptions, the mind insists that they shall stand, not, indeed, as logical deductions, but as fundamental postulates of mental procedure.

The conclusion from all these facts must be, that the driving and directive force of the mind lies in its living interests, and not in the discursive faculty. The principles of mental movement are to be sought, not in logic, but in life. We find to our surprise that there is no department of belief into which subjective interests do not enter as controlling. Even those beliefs mentioned as belonging to the realm of probabilities rest finally on assumptions based on subjective interests. If, now, we are to allow these interests no voice in determining our beliefs and assumptions, we shall have to make a clean sweep of every thing beyond a description of our mental states in their co-existences and sequences. And to this the agnostic advises us. This, he says, has been his view all along. Our science, as well as our theology, is only a subjective dream, and has nothing in it. It is the last, and in some respects the fairest, of those anthropomorphic dreams of which the human mind has ever been so prolific. For immature minds, or for a certain stage of social development, it has doubtless been valuable, and even necessary; but the critical intellect in its stern devotion to truth fails not to see that science also must go. Of course it costs us many an exquisite pang—the deepest, indeed, of which our nature is capable—to give up the sweet scientific vision of an intelligible universe; but loyalty to truth is dearer still. This claim may be dismissed with a word. The human mind is not made for agnosticism. There have always been sporadic cases; generally, however, in connection with religion: but the general judgment has assigned them to the department of mental and moral pathology. Meanwhile, science has gone on developing its system of thought in serene indifference to the agnostic. And it will always be so. It is no longer a question whether we are to have a science or a religion, but only what

kind of science and religion we are to have. There is no more danger of the race permanently contenting itself with agnosticism, in either science or religion, than there is of its ceasing to perform the instinctive functions of practical life. Of all skeptical squalls, the practiced critic says what Athanasius said of the pagan renascence of his time, "It is a little cloud, and will pass over." Individuals will be injured during their prevalence, but in the history of the race they are too transitory for much notice. The faith in the universe which underlies our mental life was not called into existence by logic, and will not vanish because of the discovery that it has no foundation beyond itself. Theory after theory will vanish, but Sisyphus, in a hopeful spirit, will continue to upheave his stone.

But once more, and finally, the question recurs as to the logical value of these subjective interests. Do they prove any thing? The answer must be, that primarily they are not reasons for believing, but tendencies to believe. As such they are psychological facts rather than logical reasons, and as such they prove nothing. They become reasons only as we assume some theory of their origin. If we may assume a harmony between our nature and the nature of things, or if we assume a process of evolution such that our nature must develop into harmony with reality, or if we assume that God will take care of our faculties and their essential veracity, then these subjective interests become reasons for believing. It is plain, however, that these assumptions themselves depend on the fact to be established, the trustworthiness of our nature; and cannot, therefore, be both premise and conclusion. Our nature must finally be taken on trust. Its practical demands are not necessities of thought, but rather true *axiomata*, that is, things worthy to be believed. Their contradictories are not unthinkable, but only esthetically or ethically absurd. In the last analysis these *axiomata* have an ethical root. They rest upon the idea, not of what must be, but of what ought to be. They are accepted because of their practical value, or their unconditional worth. This basal faith rests upon nothing deeper than itself, and hence it cannot be argued. Both acceptance and rejection are finally acts of choice rather than reasoning. The dispute finally reduces to this: The believer assumes our nature to be true until it is proved to be false: the unbeliever regards it as possibly false until it is

proved to be true. So far as logic is concerned there is little to choose between them; but the former principle has the advantage that it justifies our mental procedure; while the latter brings the mind to a stand-still and to utter paralysis. Still, this is somewhat compensated by the fact that the doubt generally exhausts itself in the religious realm, and leaves the cognitive interests full play. This ingenious distribution of faith and unfaith is both interesting and instructive.

What, then, is the function of logic with regard to these practical postulates? Plainly not to prove them, but to bring them and their implications out into clear consciousness. These postulates themselves are not primarily known as such, but exist rather as confused tendencies than as clearly defined principles. Thus the scientific consciousness is a comparatively recent development, and its implications are very imperfectly understood. What is implied in the assumed possibility of objectively valid knowledge is a question rarely asked, and still more rarely answered. Hence many have fancied that materialism, or atheism, or fatalism, might furnish a basis for science, whereas any one of them would engulf science in skepticism. The ethical consciousness, in like manner, is rarely in full possession of itself; and consequently many ethical theories acquire currency which, developed into their consequences, would prove fatal to all ethics. The religious consciousness, also, is developed into self-possession only by a long mental labor and experience extending over centuries. Left to itself it may fail utterly of comprehending its own implications, and even lose itself in irreligious assumptions. In all of these fields, therefore, there is need of a critical faculty which shall have the regulative function of securing consistency in the development of our postulates, and of adjusting their inter-relations. In this process of inner development and adjustment, logic is equally the servant of cognition, of ethics, and of religion, while all alike are outgrowths and expressions of our subjective needs and tendencies as evoked by our total experience. It is in this sense of having many implications which can be unfolded in systematic statement that the ethical and religious consciousness may be spoken of as an independent source of truth.

But this raises the question whether the assumed validity of the cognitive impulse and postulates might not lead to a con-

tradiction of the religious impulse and postulates. In that case we should have a civil war of the faculties, and no logical standard of decision. The general assumption is, that in such a case the cognitive impulse must have the right of way; but this is only a prejudice of the speculative faculty. In the light of its history it might be claimed with much show of reason that the speculative faculty has only the practical function of serving the ethical and religious life, which alone has unconditional worth. But we need not resort to such heroic measures. Truth is one; and if the cognitive faculty were shut up to irreligious conclusions we should have to accept them. But this will never happen. For, first, such opposition must not be assumed until a final interpretation has been reached; and such an interpretation is rarely possible. Most of our theories are liable to be overturned at any time by the discovery of new facts which will not fit into the old formulas. This has happened times without number already, and may well happen again. In the next place, an analysis of the conditions of knowledge would show that they coincide with the conditions of ethics and religion; and on the other hand, a study of the conditions of religion would show that the religious ideal must include the cognitive and the ethical ideal. The three have a common root and parallel implications. They develop, therefore, in mutual support and complex interaction. Dry and irreligious interpretations are shattered by the floods of life and aspiration poured over them by the moral and religious nature. Simple and compendious mechanical explanations are set aside by perverse and obdurate facts outside of the mechanism. On the other hand, the religious nature has always needed to be instructed by both the intellect and the conscience. The fact that the religious ideal must always include the cognitive and the ethical ideal, constitutes the barrier against superstition and immorality in religion, and also against a weak good-naturedness in our thought of God.

This general nature of fundamental belief, as being an expression of the fundamental interests and tendencies of the soul, throws light on many peculiar problems in the psychology of belief. First of all, we can understand the barrenness of merely logical criticism. This rests on a misapprehension of the actual procedure of the mind, and the mind retaliates by

ignoring it. The apparent independence of logic of many of our beliefs becomes equally intelligible, as they are not born of reasoning, but of life. Again, we can understand the peculiar variations of belief to which all are subject. In a pessimistic state of mind, when the springs of life are low, the scientist despairs and becomes an agnostic. In a similar state of mind, the moralist cries out, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." The Christian, after a period of full assurance, falls into doubt even of the existence of God. All the arguments in each case remain what they were before; the trouble is with the inner spring of faith. Nor can faith be recovered by arguing; this will often rather deepen the unbelief. Cure can best be sought by leaving nature to reassert itself, or by seeking to strengthen the sentiment from which belief originally sprang. We can also see how belief can be a ground for praise, and unbelief for condemnation. Viewing them as logical deductions from formal premises, nothing could be more absurd than this: but in fact our beliefs represent, not our conclusions, but us. They reveal the drift of our sympathies and the tendencies of our nature. They reveal also the quality of our souls and the grade of our development. To confess satisfaction with a mechanical, or immoral, or godless universe is only an act of self-revelation. The greatness of our demands measures the greatness of our nature. Only smallest souls can live without high faith and lofty hopes. We can further understand how the claim could arise that religion is based on feeling or on some special faculty. The moral and religious intensity which gives life to religious conviction is mistaken for a peculiar faculty. Last of all, we can see that any refinement, or purification, or elevation of human nature must lead to a corresponding change in our religious conceptions. Conversely, an era of low living will surely issue in a corresponding weakness of faith, and will spread its blight over the entire nature. The character of the mental soil determines the kind of crop.

This paper is written from a purely psychological stand-point. It does not affirm that the mind is able to develop a system of belief out of itself alone, independently of experience; it aims rather to call attention to the principles by which the mind works over its experience. The outcome is, that belief is a far

more complex thing than many are accustomed to think, and that any attempt to decide upon its validity by formal syllogistic processes is superficial and vain. It further follows, that the test of fundamental beliefs can never be any simple rule, but will rather be as complex as our nature itself. In determining what the mind demands, it is not enough to study individual psychology: for the individual is always a one-sided and incomplete specimen of the race. To eliminate these shortcomings the psychology of the race must be studied as revealed in institutions, in history, and in literature. On this broad field of the world beliefs meet and contend for the possession of the mind, not only nor mainly by argument, but by their manifold esthetic, ethical, and religious implications. More and more history itself becomes the argument, and the survival of the fittest the judge. What the mind demands in order to satisfy its own nature will be assumed so long as it is not disproved. But this principle is practical, not speculative. It does not assure us of the truth of the belief. Its falsehood involves no contradiction, but only an intolerable mental and moral confusion. And since it does not claim to be proved, it cannot be argued. It rests finally upon our faith that the universe has a meaning in it, and that the mind, with its aspirations and ideals, is at home. Allowing this faith, there is room for our highest devotion and most strenuous effort everywhere; denying it, the result is a deep and rayless pessimism in which intellect, will, conscience, and affection all lose their object, and are thrown back upon themselves to wither and perish.

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## Art. IV.—A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF HAMLET.

A student of Shakespeare finds in Hamlet that his honored master and himself have unexpectedly come into novel relations. Still are they teacher and learner, but in a way different from heretofore. Shakespeare did not live to be an old man. But to his pupil, accustomed to a reverential posture at his feet, and habituated to watch, year by year, the fuller luster of the eye and to mark the deepening cadence of the voice, every sign by which time reveals the maturing mind is very distinctly

given in the drama of Hamlet. And wherein lies the change, and in what form does it express itself? Not in the mere conduct of the external movement, although that is strictly processional as to the progress of the idea and its final vindication. Nor is it in the slow ordering of the scenes so as to detain attention and complete each single stroke of impression. Nor, again, does this higher art of the dramatist disclose itself in the simultaneous interaction of thought and feeling, by which a twofold intensity is maintained in the reason and imagination. These are all Shakespearean, but not the special qualities of the advanced Shakespeare so luminously displayed in Hamlet. The characteristic of this drama is the number, variety, and compass of the tragic forces which embody their extreme activity, and by fated strength shape all circumstances in entire obedience to themselves. By the organic law governing every event accidents are excluded. Here, indeed, as nowhere else in Shakespeare, the omnipotence of providential rule is side by side with omnipresence; and if, according to his creed of art no less than of religion, a sparrow falls not to the ground without divine notice, he has employed his capacity to its utmost compass in the unfolding and enforcement of this unheeded truth as basic to all individualism and society. So far, therefore, as the scope and propensity of this sentiment are concerned, the dramatist in Hamlet reaches his most exalted attitude, and the student, if open to the inspiration of his master, is lifted into the highest realm of consciousness.

Accordingly, one finds the peculiarity of this drama taking its rise and pursuing its development in the very nature of Hamlet as a man. Much interest gathers about him as a young and injured prince. First and last, however, the royal personage is secondary. Though outwardly kept in close connection with his surroundings of palace and court, he is in reality detached by the breadth of infinite distance from their associations as to any determinative influence. The air of Elsinore and its castle is breathed, but another atmosphere arterializes his blood. Most of the time, Hamlet himself seems forgetful of the throne of Denmark and its honors as attractive to his ambition. Questions of his manhood absorb his mind, and his mode of dealing with them and the issues flowing therefrom are the fascination that holds us captive. The man alone—the

man in the secret turmoil of his soul, the man perplexed, bewildered, and overmastered in ceaseless struggles with his own unmanageable self—is the transcendent power that sways our feelings. This is heightened by the fact that Hamlet is essentially dramatic in his organization. Resting on a temperament of singular impressibility, his intellect, as to its inceptive stages of thought, is uncommonly acute to sensational influence. Nor, indeed, can he in subsequent moments of attenuated speculation rid himself of this original sensitiveness. The excited blood runs on into the furthest digression of reflectiveness. Not content with the images of the imagination as the ultimate outlet of sensation, the heated life-current swells in the "discourse of reason." A nervous shock meets no resistance; the vibrations, quick and strong, traverse the whole extent of his being, and there is not one non-conductor to arrest the electric circuit. Had he had the temptations of a moderate sensualist, this extreme inward force of sensation would have been drained off into other channels. But Hamlet had no leaning toward sensualism. Even the innocent forms of physical gratification were seemingly alien to his pure and noble nature. There is a strange absence in him of instinctive delight in the outward shows and pomps of material objects. Nor does he change in response to the variations of earth and sky, but he changes them into faithful reflexes of his own moods. Could he have enjoyed the free and exuberant naturalness of early existence? One is led to think of him as never having had a genuine childhood and youth, since the senses, instead of performing their double office of ingress and egress, are slavishly monopolized in the service of abstracted thinking. This disposition is not occasional, but habitual. It has all the force and constancy of an automatic energy. Looking at Hamlet in this primary aspect of his constitution, he is nothing less than a born dramatist, and, at the same time, a born actor, with a possible theater ready fitted up and lacking only a special equipment to suit the order of the performance. From the outset of life his nerves are theatrical, and it is only a matter of circumstances what form the play shall take. Dramatic the experience must be in the outworking of nature into character, for in such a man instinct can never translate itself into the language of active life except under conditions necessarily dramatizing.

Analyze this matter further and you discover that Hamlet had something else besides the weakness often found in conjunction with the literary temperament. Cicero and Erasmus, though very unlike men as to culture and position, are examples of the seductive influence of this temperament. The former, too good to be a politician in his evil day, and not strong and brave enough to be a statesman, gave to literature what should have been given to his country. Like the soft gray sky of Italy, that lends a deeper repose to its beautiful landscapes, it was his choice to be a spectacle for quiet admiration rather than to resemble the majestic forces typified in the mountain and the flood. Erasmus would have a reformation without the radical thoroughness of social regeneration. Not by thunder and lightning, but by mild disinfectants, the poisonous air of the world was to be purified. The literary temperament loves its ease, and, while it can forego many luxuries, the enjoyment of self-scrutiny is its supreme longing. If Milton were an exception to this common infirmity, it was because the sense of duty was the heroic element in his manhood. Now, in most cases, this temperament which I have called "literary" is not introversive; on the contrary, it is out-going. It loves an audience. It covets sympathy. Next to oratory, it has a yearning for recognition and hearty appreciation. The divine instinct of a fine thinker is, that it "is more blessed to give than to receive;" and in obedience thereto, a truly unselfish intellect delights to communicate for the sake of others. But in Hamlet this sort of temperament is not dominating. When he says that he is one "who can be bounded in a nutshell and count himself a kind of infinite space," he gives us more than an insight into his lack of ambition and his utter distaste for practical affairs. It is not so much the "king" as related to "infinite space," as the "king" mirrored in his enormous self-consciousness and the subject-object of his contemplation that captivates the overwrought sensibility. And hence his intellect, though so fertile in creation and luxuriant in expression, never concerns itself as to any fruit it might bear in others. As to being "a gem of purest ray serene" in the "dark unfathomed caves of ocean," or a "flower born to blush unseen," what poetic rhetoric could be more unmeaning to him! The "ray serene" is for his own eye, the "fragrance" for his

private breathing, and all the rest is "waste." This unvarying occupancy with self is not of the lower self. What he shall eat and drink, in what way kill time, how dispose of his large opportunities to find relief from oppressive care and solicitude, never engage his attention. Inward, still deeper inward, to-morrow more than to-day this searching for a remoter inwardness, year by year the steady expansion of a world contained in the soul and encircled by a horizon ever thinning away and hastening into ampler spaces: Hamlet is this fascinated explorer of life's occultness, seeking himself where the real Hamlet cannot be found, and only the shadow of his ideality, less tangible than the ghost of his father, can mock him with its evanescent communion. Account for these phenomena under any ordinary law of literary temperament, *plus* an abstract philosophic power of almost limitless activity? By no means; the temperament is an important question, perhaps more so than any other next to his genius; but the main thing is for the student to observe how this natural temperament was developed, by what steps it mastered the will and usurped the entire control of the mind, the direction it took in its abnormal energy, and the fatality it entailed first upon Hamlet and afterward on his career.

Seen in this light, Hamlet is a profound study in mental physiology. It is not the only aspect under which he may be considered, but it is one of peculiar interest just now, where so much scientific intellect is engaged in the investigation of the relations subsisting between mind and matter. It seems, in fact, that Shakespeare in his Hamlet anticipated much of our recent science, a fact the more remarkable since physiology was scarcely known in his day. Shakespeare does not teach physiology, but he involves it unawares to himself. Intent alone on his art, he unconsciously makes that art inclusive of a vast deal beyond itself, so that indeed the smallest of his services to humanity lies within the immediate precinct of dramatic poetry. The new Shakespeare of our day is rising into a genius, a character, an influence, and, we may add, an inspiration, far more commanding and ennobling than dramatic skill even in him could have secured. The study of Hamlet alone, in which the poet transcends the familiar limits of poetry, and allows himself the freedom of the universe, has produced its most signal effect in

our day altogether outside of its merit as a poetic achievement. Every one knows its value as poetry. But this is mere scaffolding: the magnificent fabric stands apart, and, as a structure of mind, taking its place among the architectural wonders of all ages, its grandeur is unchallenged. Hamlet in its embodiment of the organic principles of constructive art; Hamlet with its unity creating diversity, and, in turn, this rich diverseness falling back upon the unity for its enhancement; Hamlet with its tenacity of logic, wherein premises and conclusion, though extending in many lateral branches of sequence, yet hold firmly together; Hamlet as imparting to modern criticism the healthiest and freest impulse it has received; most of all, Hamlet as a study in intellectual philosophy, and in that branch of it involving psychology: may be regarded as significant of a new epoch of culture. That this study offers special advantages to the mental physiologist, is certainly very clear. At the start Hamlet's infirmity of will is well-defined. The growth of this morbid state, running through a succession of stages, is accurately presented. Nothing is omitted that can cast light on the progress of his intellectual besetment. Step by step the history discloses itself beneath the dramatized movements; the soul in its sorrow and strife is laid bare; and the unusual number, fullness, and impassioned fervor of the soliloquies make the self-revelation complete. More than anywhere else in Shakespeare, the life of the spirit and the life of the open world proceed on parallel lines, and we pass from the one to the other without a noticeable pause of transition. There is absolutely nothing to draw off attention from the principal character, every matter from the smallest to the greatest being as a multiplying mirror, in which the image is reproduced. And while there is not an occurrence which lacks dramatic interest, yet not an event happens that does not enter into the heart of the action and direct itself to the predestined end: the utter overthrow of all parties, innocent and guilty, Horatio excepted.

Called home from the University of Wittenberg by the death of his father, the king, Hamlet finds his uncle Claudius on the throne. His feelings are further shocked by his mother's marriage to Claudius so soon after his father's death. Here, then, are two classes of sensibilities—deep grief and vehement

indignation—and they are as opposite, nay, as antagonistic, as it is possible for emotions to be. One is reminded of Milton's figure of the "two black clouds" that come "rattling on over the Caspian, fraught with heaven's artillery," and then "join their dark encounter in mid-air." The grief is deep and tender, the indignation violent and irrepressible; and, the crown lost, what sphere of action has the young prince, what duties can engage him, that may serve as safety-valves for the escape of feelings not only excessive but conflicting? Within himself the overburdened heart is pent up, and the twofold anguish is increased by the suspicion of foul play. And what resort has he? The one least adapted to afford him relief, the one most likely to intensify the raging conflict; and, accordingly, he utters his soul in a soliloquy that rehearses "the uses of this world" as "weary, stale, flat, and unprofitable," closing with the words:

> "It is not, nor it cannot come to, good;
> But break, my heart, for I must hold my tongue."

Judging by Hamlet's temperament, either of these causes, grief or anger, acting under the circumstances then existing, would have made a lasting impression on his nervous system. Thirty years old, he was at the precise age where reason and passion are active in adjusting themselves to each other. It is the momentous turning-point in this part of our history, and consequently involves the relations subsisting between the nerves and the mind. We know that these relations are mysterious; and yet we also know that somewhere about that age the nerves take on their habits as activities co-ordinated with thought and impulse, while the mediating power of the imagination, the *nexus* between sense and spirit, is then as to its sensuous functions most energetic. The physical man having reached his growth, another and higher growth has now set in, the most important of all growths, by which soul and body become to each other helps or hinderances. At this critical time, Hamlet is subjected to the most wretched experience that the nerves can undergo by reason of the warfare of emotion. Grief tends to depress the nervous vigor, anger to excite it; grief works in the direction of passivity, anger toward resentful action; grief in its first moments deadens the imagination and interposes a check on its mitigating office, while anger

quickens its creative force. Now, in such a state, the steady operation of the nervous economy is impossible. Continuity of function is interrupted. The interruption of continuity wastes healthful strength, disturbs calmness, begets confusion, and shatters self-control. This was precisely Hamlet's condition at the initial point of the dramatic movement. The soliloquy that pours forth his excitement is thoroughly in accordance with physiological law. It is interjectional, abrupt, condensed, the rapid transitions of feeling not allowing time for any faculty to perfect its impression and give itself full utterance. Here, then, at the outset, is a drama of nerves, and before the outward order of the events has assumed shape, the tragic constituents are seen gathering on the arena within. The probable Hamlet presents his contour in lines sharply defined. The strength and the weakness, the hurried advance and the quick retreat, the logic of instinct balancing itself against the logic of intellect, the facile entrance of motives that neutralize one another's urgency—these all are here, and that, too, not only as prophecy, but as actuality. Strongest among them is the voice, a fearful tempter and deceiver to many who have little of Hamlet's genius, but to Hamlet himself the worst of betrayers, because always on the alert to suspend his sense of duty. If he can dramatize his sorrows in the play of accent and emphasis, it is enough. No man ever heard his own articulations with a pride so gratifying. A voice it was that disdained to listen for an echo from the world without; and just in the degree he delighted in its tones was he the hopeless victim of illusions. On the nervous side of his nature, a man is far gone in imbecility of will when his voice is to his ear the most satisfying of sounds; and this was exactly Hamlet's condition when his distress and indignation half appeased themselves by their facility of expression in language alike eloquent and argumentative.

In this state of extreme sensitiveness, the Ghost appears. To prepare the way for its introduction, and especially to put Hamlet in a proper frame of mind for an occasion so fraught with consequences, Horatio tells him that it had "started, like a guilty thing upon a fearful summons." Hamlet is forewarned of danger. The only being in the world capable of acting on Hamlet's mind renders him a most timely service. This specific

influence of Horatio, guarding Hamlet against the Ghost, takes permanent hold of Hamlet, so that in the after-discussions with himself, the "extravagant and erring spirit," that flies from the light and "hies to his confine," is never forgotten. His purpose fulfilled, the Ghost disappears. During the interview was Hamlet seemingly anxious that "I . . . may sweep to my revenge." Yes; but no sooner is the sensation past than the apparent resoluteness has gone. Sensations, as relative to the intellectual and emotional nature, are short-lived, and they obey this law so as to allow the sense-impression to become the sole property of the mind. Detached from the special senses, these perceptions, as the joint product of mind and body, are delivered over to the reflective, judging, and volitional processes, from which they pass to their appropriate spheres of life. The nerves concerned in these functions demand rest after exertion, and one of the elements of this rest is the dismissal of objects that have occupied attention. But Hamlet gives his thought no repose, and accordingly he is ever reproducing his sensations by means of the intellect. The method of nature is from sensation and perception to judgment and will and action; nerves are organized to do their work in this way. Hamlet's method was sensation, perception, reflection, and then back again into sensibility and sensation; nerves rebel against this tyranny and execute vengeance on their oppressor. This beautiful method of nature is further enforced by the law of moods. Inasmuch as monotony is deadening to the nerves, they are keenly susceptible to changes. There are no such watchful sentinels in the world; and many a breath gentler than a zephyr, and many a sound less audible than a whisper, report themselves in variations of idea and emotion. If nature finds us pulling too much or too long on any one of those delicate filaments that bind the threefold brain to the outer universe, she relaxes the grasp of the dangerous hand. This is what Hamlet would not, and finally could not, do. Too much in love with his power of thought, too little in love with himself, and still less sympathetic with those responsibilities which, in daily life, are the tests of truth and the measures of endeavor, he is a spendthrift of emotion, whose experience and career consist, for the most part, in vivid alternations of sensational nerves and prolific mental faculties. Is

it strange, then, that in the Ghost scene, marking the second period of the dramatic development, he should be so bent on revenge, and immediately thereafter lapse away into a purpose to feign madness? Given the man and his surroundings, the Ghost scene had brought him to a point at which some such resort as denaturalizing himself was inevitable. To counterfeit insanity was directly in his line of advance. Had he not already progressed to the verge of its achievement? One who has gone so far in self-surrender to the luxury of emotion can scarcely fail to go farther. This will allow the largest possible interplay between sensational nerves and disordered brains, and shut up here—a drama within a drama—what compass of liberty shall be out of reach for wisdom and wit, for ridicule and sarcasm, for scorn and denunciation, for the picturesque and the romantic, for the tenderness of pathos and the wildness of anguish!

This excessive nervous disturbance enabled Hamlet to play so well the part of an insane man. Much more than genius, and even genius in a dramatizing capacity of a high grade, was requisite for a task so unique. A peculiar experience that had fathomed the mid-ocean of life was needed. Add to these a knowledge of the more obscure forms of individuality and the labyrinthine windings through which individuality, when it enlarges into eccentricity, delights to wander; and then supplement them with a courageous persistency neither to be daunted by hazards, nor worn out by long-protracted exertions:—for just such efforts and risks Hamlet was fitted; and if his chosen drama succeeds for a time and defeats itself in the end, it was simply because Hamlet put his great abilities to a wrong and most pernicious use. To undertake the evasion of responsibility in this way, and trifle for years with manly duties, was to provoke that vengeance which only slumbers in moral laws while Providence holds them under the restraint of inactivity. Wake they must, when outraged nature bids them arise and vindicate the eternal order of righteousness! This stratagem of madness ruined Hamlet. Yet dramatically, it completely answered its purpose. It was a mask to those about him, but it unmasks him to us. We know him on this account more fully, and see very clearly into the intricacies of a character that otherwise would appear only as an enigma. The assumed

madness enabled Hamlet to be Hamlet in perfection, and he turned every opportunity to instant and most effective account. In a psychological point of view, the madness shows to what an extent the disordered state of his nervous system and the mental faculties had previously gone, and consequently it is little else than an exposition and commentary on Hamlet's previous history. There is not a new Hamlet, but the same Hamlet taking on larger dimensions. One or two scenes excepted—notably the one at Ophelia's grave—he keeps within the bounds of imitative art, and plays his role with consummate skill. The organic idea of the drama is not Hamlet's utter loss of self-control, such as occurs in real insanity, but an abused and perverted self-control, which runs to a fearful excess and grows upon him till it destroys him. And the final overthrow dates back to the period of return from the university. At that early day he began to break the divinely instituted connection between mind and body. On the first rupture, intellectual and moral death set in. The law of life, as shared by nerves and sensibility of soul, is that emotion shall find an outlet in action. Hamlet violated this law, and the punishment therefor was a disabled will. Another law, common to mind and body, limits our attention to those functions which are not furnished with self-guidance. Concentrate attention on any portion of mind or body not legitimate to its activity, and a disturbing element is introduced. Continue it, and the disorder is heightened. Hamlet was absorbed by self-consciousness. Hour by hour, month by month, his eye was fixed on himself and his experiences. This fixedness of attention on every sensation and susceptibility increased his irritableness, fed his morbid proclivity, and made him a prey to illusions. From the opening of his career to its close, Hamlet is a striking instance of exaggerated nervous action—a subject of an overmastering hysteria. Nor may we by any means agree with the learned men who regard Hamlet as insane. He had none of the "stuff" out of which insane men are made. Intense as his feelings were, they had a vent in the marvelous workings of his creative genius, and it would seem this vent saved him from downright insanity. And this view of the case should be the more insisted upon, since in our day there is rather a tendency to be insane on the subject of insanity.

But this aside. There is the great tragedy—a growing wonder in this cultivated age. In certain features of interest, in several aspects attractive to critical thought, men compare it with other tragedies, and especially with Shakespeare's own productions. These comparisons hold good only in the minor qualities of the play. Whatever is distinctive in Hamlet escapes this favorite method of scholarly examination, and secures a place for itself where parallelisms and contrasts have no significance. The highest greatness is not seen by setting it beside other forms of greatness, for this is the method of the senses, and not of insight. Greatness is essentially insulating. If one stands amazed before Mont Blanc, it is not because of its superiority to the neighboring Alps. Its grandeur is taken from the heavens above, not from the earth beneath; and the clouds that hang far below its summit are themselves exalted by being the apparel of its magnificence. Hamlet affects us most through original disclosures where our nature conceals itself by reason of its connections with infinity. The world is not Hamlet's trial. The questionings that ever recur and are never answered are self-questionings, and his most painful struggles are when he is farthest separated from society and most completely realizes himself. Other people throw him back upon his own perplexing nature, and the more he is in contact with associates, the more he is a paradox and enigma to his own spirit. And therefore the increasing hold that Hamlet has on this advancing age.

Among our most thoughtful men Hamlet has the position of tragic supremacy, because he is the exponent of so much in this century. Civilization is externally so splendid that it forces many to seek refuge in themselves, and our wise men, grown old, are writing their "Ecclesiastes." A deep and genuine sympathy, not born of esthetic art, but of our noblest instincts, draws us to this tragedy, which contains in itself all the profounder elements of human life, and speaks a language never heard save where the solemnity of our confused and troubled probation rests on the soul with its immortal meanings. Hamlet is a warning to one of the chief sins of this age—the glorification of the human intellect and the ruthless sacrifice of the moral nature to its imperious demands. And if one would see how rare gifts and graces may wither into

nothingness—how the best in us may become the worst, how the self-indulgence of even our higher nature will surely work its own punishment—he can find it all here in the most impressive personal form that tragedy ever assumed. Providence, as a spiritual power reigning over man, is never so awful as when it manifests itself in those finely endowed characters that have wrenched themselves away from their true relations to life and duty. And thus it is that Hamlet, the fitful and wayward Hamlet, regretful without heartfelt repentance, spasmodic not from weakness but from surplusage of undisciplined strength—thus it is that this majestic soul becomes a transparency through which Providence adapts its revelations to the vision of men. No such lesson in "vanity of vanities" has been taught since Solomon heaped around him the treasures of the whole earth only to impoverish his soul.

Nor are these the only instructions brought home to our hearts. Those human ties which are most human are concealed far down beneath the surface of our being. The tiny nervous filaments, distributed through the tissues of the organs, are invisible to the naked eye, and when combined they extend as cords to every part of the body. But we have ties that elude the scrutiny of consciousness, and our greatest influences do their work in hidden ways. Threads that reach the farthest and bind distant results most closely to our souls are often too delicate for even our observation. And so it is that we repeat ourselves in shapes and aspects least expected, and the mystery of the life within is deepened evermore by the mystery of the life without. As the procession of events moves forward in Hamlet, the shadow of what men call fate thickens in gloom. Polonius, worthy of a better destiny, is the first to perish. Rosenerantz and Guildenstern, "my two school-fellows" who "bear the mandate," are the men who "marshal" Hamlet to "knavery," and in the trial of craft against craft they are destroyed. Ophelia, so unconsciously trustful, so firmly obedient, beautiful, too, in the strength and tenacity of her affections, passes from love and hope to disappointment and grief, then to madness, then to death. At her grave, where pathos and self-reproach and anguish rush with startling vehemence over his spirit, reason gives way, while the phantom of recollection cries out, "*This is I, Hamlet the Dane!*" The insanity is

temporary. Hamlet recovers himself, and shows his intellectual acumen in perfection when narrating to Horatio the incidents of the sea-voyage and reasoning with Laertes to convince him that he is "of the faction that is wronged." But life is exhausted now. "Fortune's finger" has sounded all the stops she pleased; there remains naught but the dirge: and that dirge is over Claudius, Gertrude, Laertes, and Hamlet, lying together in death.

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## Art. V.—THE POPES AT AVIGNON.

On the banks of the Rhone, some fifty miles north of Marseilles, lies a very ancient and now decayed city whose long existence is densely packed with history. Its modern name, Avignon, comes naturally from Avenio, under which name it is described by the Roman historians. Its soil was, however, probably trod by Grecian feet five hundred years before Christ. After the Romans, it passed under the dominion of the Goths, and then of the Saracens, who were expelled from it by Charles Martel. After centuries of possession by Provençal counts it was sold in 1348 by the Countess of Provence, afterward Queen Joanna of Naples, to Pope Clement VI. for fifty thousand florins, a part of the price being that he should declare her innocent of the murder of her husband, of which she was generally believed to be guilty. It continued in papal hands till the revolution of 1791.

The city stands in one of the finest districts of France. From a rocky tower in the garden Rocher des Dons the prospect is one of the most beautiful in all Europe. The majestic Rhone flows at your feet. The blue line of the Cevennes skirts the north-west. Far across the plain toward the north-east lies Mount Ventoux, while farther southward in the dim distance are the Alps, and nearer the silver thread of the Durance winds along to its union with the Rhone. With all its beauty it was plagued with winds, and "*Avenio ventosa, sine vento venenosa, cum vento fastidiosa*" has passed as a proverb into its history. The city is still surrounded by its lofty mediæval walls, with their towers and battlements and

handsome gates, while round the ramparts runs a shady boulevard.

On the rocky eminence that overlooks the river and commands the city stands the cathedral called Notre Dame des Dons, founded originally on the site of a heathen temple, and after its destruction by the Goths rebuilt by Charlemagne. Near by is what was once the palace of the popes, now a barrack and a prison. It is a huge, irregular Gothic structure, with high, thick, gloomy walls, built piecemeal at long intervals by successive pontiffs. Its towers and chambers were in the fourteenth century the home of the Inquisition, and they still contain the atrocious implements with which it tortured the bodies of its victims. Those grim, solid walls could be at the same time the *fête* place of Petrarch, the poet-laureate of the age, and the prison-house of Rienzi, the last of the tribunes. These edifices, with one or two others of lesser note grouped with them, were the ecclesiastical heart of the city which Petrarch and other Italian historians called the Babylon of the papal Church. The years of the papal residence there were called the period of "Babylonish captivity." This period extends from 1305 to 1378, a little more than seventy years.

The dawn of the fourteenth century began a new era in the history of European governments. Theocratic institutions had reached the height of their arrogant assumption of power, and modern royalty then achieved its first victory. The bold theories of Gregory VII., which for more than two centuries had made the necks of kings the pavement for papal feet, and their thrones the playthings of papal caprice, had found at last in Philip the Fair of France a king to defy them. Boniface VIII., a true successor of Gregory and the Innocents, had made a desperate struggle to establish more firmly the shaking throne of St. Peter. But the ignominy and insult of his last days, his fearful death, and the probable poisoning of his successor, showed that popular sentiment no longer regarded the person of the pope as sacred nor his authority as supreme. In the leading States of Europe, after the long dark ages of faction and disintegration—after the successive attempts at the imperial, aristocratic, republican, and mixed forms of royalty—there had at last emerged the essential idea of the twofold nature of nations, a government and a people. This idea had found

embodiment in powerful leaders. The Plantagenets had been its champions, and Edward III. was soon to surpass them all. Bannockburn and Crecy were its battle-fields. The last kings of the Capetian dynasty were to transmit it greatly strengthened to the house of Valois. Charles IV., with his Golden Bull, was its fitting representative in Germany. Margaret, the Semiramis of the North, was to make it the policy of Sweden and Denmark at the close of the century. Switzerland had known her William Tell, and Spain was to see the culmination of royalty in Charles V. It was the development of this principle that had secularized the nations. It was the deadly enemy of ecclesiastical assumption and tyranny. And though the tide of the battle had changed, yet it was around the banners of the Church that the blood of the people was still to flow, the strategy of generals was to find its field, and the keenest diplomacy of cardinals and statesmen was to match its powers.

This antagonism of Church and State was accompanied, perhaps largely caused, by the effort of the human mind to assert itself—to cease its worm-like crawling and put on wings. Philosophy, literature, law, religion, began to be fields in which the mind claimed its right to independent thought without the shackles of ecclesiastical supervision. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus had led the way in the realm of scholastic philosophy. Gower and Chaucer had laid the foundation of English literature. Before the close of the fourteenth century Wiclif was to throw, as a firebrand among tinder-like combustibles, his English Bible into the excited thought of the age. Dante was just singing his divine songs in Italy and giving shape to her language. Petrarch and Boccaccio soon followed, the former a prominent actor in the arena of that Avignon he so aptly termed the Babylon of the Church.

The tide of papal supremacy had at last reached its height, and therein lay one of the mightiest of those crises that determine human affairs. The climbing aspirations of the human spirit came at length to a final pinnacle. That summit in the case of the papacy was gained when, at the jubilee of A.D. 1300, Boniface VIII., seated on the throne of Constantine in military garb, girded with a sword, a crown upon his head and a scepter in his hand, shouted to the assembled myriads before him, "I am Cæsar—I am Emperor." Little by little, from local and

humble supervision over the spiritual interests of men, the papal authority had crept on till its claim embraced all human interests in all Christendom. Long years it had been content that the spiritual and the secular should move side by side in complete accord in the government of the world. But dualism in headship is always a monstrosity. There may be harmony for a season, but soon or later headship means unity. All save one must become subordinate. And so at last the spiritual locked the temporal in its invisible fetters. The pope was the sole representative on earth of the Deity, and from him, therefore, must kings derive their power, and the temporal must be the slave instead of the sister of the spiritual. There must be a presiding power that should oversee the secular concerns of the nations, hold kings and emperors as their hereditary agents, be umpire in strifes, the source of international law, the judge in all causes, and the enforcer of its own sentences. Many conditions and powers helped the claim of the popes. Their office was sacred. They controlled the terrible weapons of excommunication and interdict. Their position was supposed to lift them above personal interest and narrowing jealousies. But experience had proved that the holiest office could be polluted by the lust and passions of the holder, and that the corruption of the best is always the worst.

And so the tide turned. But it must go out as it came in. No earthquake convulsions to swallow up the waters on the instant, but first a decided check, and then the slow, fierce struggle until the final ebb. Philip the Fair was the rocky barrier against which the highest tide dashed in vain. It was he that fulfilled the closing part of the famous prophecy concerning Boniface VIII., that he should enter like a fox, reign like a lion, and die like a dog. The tide turned with Boniface; but the slime it had deposited, and the foul relics of its recession, are more clearly visible in the period of the "Babylonish captivity."

Seven pontiffs sat on the throne of St. Peter during this portion of papal history. The first of these, Clement V., had consented to the degradation of the tiara that he might win it. The crown of Boniface, the disposer of secular crowns and the lord of all realms in its lofty claims, after a brief glitter on the head of Benedict XI. had tumbled to the feet of Philip the

Fair, whence Clement had humbled himself to pick it up. Philip had been able to dictate his own conditions. Those conditions completely reconciled him to the Church that had so lately denounced and deposed him; absolved all his agents in the struggle with Boniface; gave him for five years the tenths from the clergy of the realm; condemned the memory of Boniface; reinstated the Colonnas in the rank and honors of the cardinalate; and gave him the privilege of demanding whatever one thing the secret future should make desirable. That Clement should be willing to accept the papal scepter on such terms, and wield it under the eye and in the dominions of Philip, reveals at once the meanness of his nature and the tremendous force of that royal blow which could so stagger and stun the papal power. Those who judge the character of Clement most charitably declare that the Holy Ghost could have had nothing to do with an election to office so marked by human policy and deceit, and that his avarice and ambition knew no bounds. He died shamefully rich, though he had lived shamefully prodigal. It was generally believed that the beautiful Countess of Perigord was his mistress, who gratified his lusts that she might revel in his wealth and wield his power. Villani charges him with resorting to magic that he might ascertain what had become of the departed soul of one of his nephews. Dante places him in hell. His burial was ignoble; and though the subsequent piety of the Church gave him a silver coffin and an alabaster monument, yet his evil fame led the disciples of Calvin two hundred years later to plunder his tomb and burn his remains.

John XXII. was the son of a cobbler. For more than two years the papal see had been vacant. The impatience of Christendom at length convened the conclave at Lyons. After forty days of vain wrangling they agreed to elect whom the bishop of Porto should nominate. He was equal to so fortunate an occasion, and coolly nominated himself. Others say that the gold of the king of Naples had bribed the Italian cardinals to vote for the bishop, but only on condition that Rome should be the papal seat. He promised upon oath never to mount a horse or a mule, but in order to go to Rome. After his coronation at Lyons, to avoid a breach of his oath, the Rhone became his steed as far as Avignon, where he walked from the

water-side to the palace, and never stirred from it for the eighteen years of his pontificate. The popedom thus won by hypocrisy and meanness was held with arrogance and cruelty. John, though a man of profound learning, indorsed the current belief of the age in sorcery and magic. He provided against arts of magic by the virtue of a serpentine ring lent to him by Margaret, countess of Foix. And when neither this nor the sanctity of his person prevented a conspiracy against his life, his cruel disposition appears in the punishment of the bishop who was charged with using diabolic arts against him. The unfortunate man was flayed alive and torn asunder by four horses. Cruel persecutions were also instituted against various forms of heresy. The last argument for orthodoxy was the torture and the stake. The avarice of John far exceeded that of his predecessor. He devised new methods continually to increase his wealth. Among them was the annates, by which every clergyman appointed to a benefice was obliged to pay the pope one year's income before taking possession of it. By this and other means, notwithstanding his luxurious prodigality, he left at his death 18,000,000 florins of gold in coined money and 7,000,000 in ingots, jewels, and other valuables. The edict of Louis of Bavaria declared that by his scandalous life and enormous wickedness he had forfeited every ecclesiastical dignity. John had excommunicated Louis for leaguing with the Ghibellines to secure the imperial throne; but the status of royalty at this time, as against popery, was well illustrated by the subsequent crowning of Louis at Rome by two excommunicated bishops amid the acclamations of the people. For heresy and treason he formally deposed Pope John, and cashiered him from his papal office. On Ascension Day he took his seat in the Piazza of St. Peter's on an imperial throne, and, amid the glitter and pomp of court and clergy, formally decreed Peter di Corvari the true Roman pope, put on his finger the ring of St. Peter, arrayed him in the pall, and saluted him by the name of Nicholas V. The emperor, the anti-pope, and the Ghibellines were for the time triumphant. It is worthy of notice that the pet dogma of John—the sleep of the soul at death with no waking till the resurrection—found no sympathy either in the current theology or in popular sentiment. He was obliged to retract, and the heated disputes,

with the chagrin of defeat, were among the embitterments of his last days.

By a whimsical compromise, and an unexpected vote, the college of cardinals elected Benedict XII. as the successor of John XXII. When he found himself suddenly raised to a dignity to which he had never thought of aspiring, he told the cardinals that they had elected an ass for their pope. His administrative virtues are conceded to have been a rebuke to the vices of his predecessors. But his private character, if any credit may be given to his enemies, was far from faultless. The epitaph that described him as "a Nero, death to the laity, a viper to the clergy, without truth, a mere cup of wine," may have been too bitter an exaggeration. The current proverb, "as drunk as a pope," owed to him its origin and illustration. He is said to have seduced and kept as a concubine a sister of Petrarch. Probably such accusations have only too much foundation.

Whatever is believed concerning the character of Benedict, the corruption of his successor, Clement VI., can hardly be disputed. The court of Avignon became at once the gayest and most luxurious in Europe. The apostolic coffers seemed inexhaustible. Preferment was bestowed with lavish hand without regard to qualifications or character. His own relations received a liberal share. The papal palace was made one of the most magnificent structures in the world. Art adorned its spacious halls and learning graced it. The pope was more royal in his attire and more splendid in receptions, banquets, studs of horses, and gorgeous displays than the kings and emperors who paid him court. He took great delight in the company of women, and neither checked nor disguised his amorous disposition. The Countess of Turenne, beautiful, ambitious, and shameless, seemed to surpass all others in his affections, and to obtain the most of his favors. His luxurious and licentious example gave free sanction to the monstrous corruption of the city and was the disgrace and curse of his age.

Innocent VI. commenced his career as pope by falsifying the solemn oath that secured his election. That oath related to a statute which, if observed, would have made the cardinalate superior to the pontificate in its independence and privilege. As cardinal he had sworn to the statute; as pope he

declared it null and illegal. He had no scruple to resort to the cruelties of the Inquisition to subdue heresy. But in spite of perjury and cruelty he was a great improvement on his predecessor. He is termed by the historian of Latin Christianity the most powerful and most prudent of the Avignonese pontiffs. A splendid tomb just across the Rhone at Villeneuve still remains to mark his resting-place.

It would be an interesting investigation to inquire how far the visitations of God in great public calamities are reformatory. And as a special case in point, it would be interesting to know how much the black plague of these years had to do with the elevation of moral tone both in clergy and laity. This terrible plague broke out in Europe in 1348. It lasted through the popedom of Clement VI., and raged fearfully at Avignon in 1361 while Innocent was in the papal chair. In some places it carried off two thirds of the inhabitants; in others, it left only a twentieth part. At Avignon five cardinals and a hundred bishops died of it in three months. The cemeteries were all filled and multitudes of the dead lay unburied. Priests deserted their parishes, and princes their palaces. Only the mendicant friars cared for the sick or shrouded the dead. The Flagellantes, with a cross in one hand and a whip of knotted thongs in the other, scourged their bare shoulders through the highways and streets, bewailing their sins. Amid all this woe and suffering and walking in the face of death, it might be supposed that men of all ranks would halt in their paths of crime and vice, and fear the retributions of another world. Doubtless with some it had such an effect. But many plunged more desperately into debauchery, and many more made the miseries of others the occasion and the means of their own profit. Religion seldom finds a permanent revival as the result of great calamities. The pious only are made more pious by affliction. Floods and plagues and great national troubles may alarm and destroy, but piety born of terror dies young. The wicked pass on and are punished.

Urban V. was elected pope on the 28th of October, 1362. The value of papal bulls and absolutions in that age is well illustrated in the case of Barnabo Visconti, one of the most powerful of the Italian princes. He had declared himself

king, pope, and emperor in his own dominion. He had practiced monstrous cruelties upon the clergy; burned some alive in iron cages; bored their ears with hot irons; forced a priest to anathematize the pope and all his cardinals. For these and other crimes he had been over and over again excommunicated. But now by Urban he was absolved from all his sins on condition of giving up Bologna to the papal dominion with certain strongholds he had seized, and leaving the Guelphs in his own territories unmolested. Five hundred thousand florins of gold was the pope's dowry, also, on his reunion with the Church. Surely Urban understood the relation of politics and religion. But, alas for the waning power of the pope when such concessions were necessary! Still, against the personal character of Urban nothing is alleged. By the contemporary writers of his time he is regarded as among the best of the popes. He did much to discourage the avarice and licentiousness of the clergy, and much to promote learning and reward virtue. He made a show of removing the papal seat to Rome again and of reconciling the papacy to the empire. But the attractions of Avignon were too mighty, and he died there at last with the cross in his hand, on a couch before the altar of St. Peter, whither he had been carried to die in the sight of all the people.

Gregory XI. was the last of the Babylonian popes. Personally blameless in morals, his pontificate was passed in the midst of stormy conflicts, and was succeeded by the great schism that convulsed Latin Christendom, and threatened to make the Alps the boundary of a divided Church. His death at Rome, while his heart was at Avignon, typified the double succession to the papal crown which rent the Church for nearly forty years.

The character of the Babylonian popes fairly represents, probably, that of the inferior dignitaries of the Church as well as of the masses of the people. Benedict XII. was painted with his fist closed, because he was slow to confer Church preferments on men of gross moral character. Petrarch commended Gregory XI. for not following the example of his predecessor in bestowing benefices on none but those of great virtue, because in that case none would be conferred. How consistently he could bestow such a commendation we can well see

when we remember that he himself, with all the excellence of character ascribed to him, was the father of two illegitimate children. He is said to have been disgusted and intensely indignant at the dissipation and corruption of the city and court of Avignon. What, then, must have been the immorality around him if we estimate it in the light of his own? He speaks of the city as one vast brothel. Rome itself was, in comparison, the seat of matronly virtue.

The denunciation which Clement VI. delivered against the prelates as one of the last acts of his life, is emphatic testimony to their corruption. Said he:

> And if the friars were not to preach to the people, what would ye preach? Humility? You, the proudest, the most disdainful, the most magnificent among all the estates of men, who ride abroad in procession on your stately palfreys! Poverty? Ye who are so greedy, so obstinate in the pursuit of gain, that all the prebends and benefices of the world would not satiate your avidity! Chastity? Of this I say nothing! God knows your lives, how your bodies are pampered with pleasures! If you hate the begging friars and close your doors against them, it is that they may not see your lives; you had rather waste your breath on panders and ruffians than on mendicants!

One hundred years before, the bishop of Liege had publicly boasted that fourteen children had been born to him in the space of twenty-two months. Forty years after the death of Clement VI., Pope John XXIII. illustrated, as scarcely any other man had ever done, the depth of monstrous lust and cruelty to which a human being could go. The period of the "Babylonian captivity" was not better (perhaps not worse) in the moral character of both clergy and laity than the other centuries of mediæval Church history.

The Church of the Middle Ages was an ecclesiastical system which, under the forms of piety and religion, raised the hierarchy to marvelous power with its strong temptations to tyranny and luxury, while it degraded the masses of the laity by playing upon their fears and superstitions. It was a machine manipulated by the few for their own earthly aggrandizement at the expense of the souls of men. By it the most godlike element in man was cheated into the most servile obedience to human dogma, issued often by polluted and lying lips as a divine command. The Avignonese period was in the

center of this epoch. The papal chair had long been the prize of Machiavelian diplomacy, though claiming to be the gift of divine decision. It had assumed and exercised supremacy over kings and emperors as an essential function of its power. But the height of that power had been reached, and secular rulers now successfully questioned and resisted it. The popedom of Clement V. was the virtual gift of Philip the Fair. The giver was able to make his own conditions, and the receiver was willing to accept it at the stipulated price. He was a man of unbounded ambition and great duplicity. He owed all his preferments to Boniface. He was ready to sacrifice friendship, as well as gratitude, to his ambition. He was ready to accept the dictation of the secular power; to wear the triple crown stripped of some of its stars, rather than not have it at all. He was content that Christendom should have a new center, and that Rome should lose her dominion. The throne of St. Peter was transferred to French soil, and the bishop of Rome was only a French prelate. A French pope acknowledged a French king as his master. Such was the inauguration of the "captivity." The transition from the authority of Boniface to the subserviency of Clement was as complete a revolution as could well be conceived. And in it all was not one trace of pious purpose for the souls of men, but only the selfish grasping of worldly ambition, luxurious lust, and miserly avarice.

The character of the inferior clergy was not misrepresented in that of the head of the Church. The scramble for clerical holdings of every grade was intense, and shared by large numbers. Real love for the souls of men was a motive either altogether unknown or far in the background. The loaves and fishes were the real motive. The existing priesthood and the candidates for it were in their spirit largely the genuine descendants of the sons of Eli. Simony was the most common of crimes. The poor priest-ridden people were taxed to poverty to support their spiritual masters and advisers in hypocritical idleness; and, worse than all, examples of drunkenness and lust in those whom they were taught to reverence and imitate gave ample license to the lower classes of society. The moral status of Romish Christianity during the reign of the seven popes at Avignon could hardly have been worse.

The foreshadowing of that mighty Reformation which appeared two centuries later lay partially in this very characteristic of the papal Church. When the nadir should be reached it would be time for the reaction to begin. The forces which were to bring the Church to that lowest point of degradation were in mighty and rapid operation. When they seemed to carry it to the height of its prosperity they were really plunging it into the depths of ruin. Like the steeds of Phaethon, if held by a master they carried the chariot on the brilliant pathway of the sky; if guided by reckless ignorance they became unmanageable and wrecked the whole. The zenith became the nadir. Jerusalem changed to Babylon. The very elements which made the Church powerful made it also corrupt. Persecutions and martyrdoms were the fruitful stimulants of its growth. Power and wealth were the instruments that brought decay and death.

The clergy were a close corporation, independent of the laws of the State. A priest was amenable to no civil law. Whatever his crime, he must be tried by the members of his guild. And the clergy were made to include any body who could write his name or read even a sentence from a book. Whoever could give this proof of membership in the clerical body was entitled to benefit of clergy, and to be tried by his peers. The walls of a monastery were as complete a protection to the criminal as the Jewish cities of refuge. Not even the king could open their gates for the officers of the law. But on the other hand, the sanction of the Church was essential to every officer, from tithingman to king, and to the operation of every civil law. The decree of the Church could strip off even royal robes and annul the decision of any secular court. The clergy made laws for the laity and compelled their obedience. The laity made laws and the clergy disobeyed them with impunity. Such in brief was the relation of the Church to the State.

What was the religion of the people? It was summed up in the sentence, "Believe the priest and do his bidding." The popular religion was to the genuine religion of the Bible what the manikin is to the man. It was a lifeless machine with the priest at the crank. The more intelligent the priest the greater the hypocrite. He was an unbeliever in his own professions, and made gain of the credulity of others. At the very conse-

cration of the Eucharist he said in his heart, "Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain." The piety of the laity was simply ceremonial conformity. The rite of extreme unction was ample atonement for a corrupt life, and a rich fee as a death present secured exemption from purgatory. The morality of the people would, of course, correspond with their religion. The example of idle, sensual monks who swarmed every-where —of priests who did not scruple to invade the sanctities of domestic life—could not fail to penetrate the whole fabric of society. Every sin was easy because, however gross, a few mumbled words and a little money would make all clean again.

When Petrarch and the other Italian writers designated Avignon as Babylon, and this epoch of the Romish Church as the "Babylonish captivity," they used these terms in the whole breadth of their meaning. Babylon, in the Scriptures, is the antithesis of Jerusalem. As the latter is the type of the purity of heaven, so the former is the symbol of the abominations of hell. Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio, and others, were not afraid even in their day to use the words in this application. Avignon was no mere receptacle of a deported papal throne and court, but it was the center of a corruption that overspread Christendom. It was the core of the Church's rottenness, whence spread far-flowing streams of filth and pollution. As a specimen of vigorous invective it would be difficult to find a more striking one than a letter from Petrarch to a confidential friend. He says:

I am at present in the western Babylon, than which the sun never beheld any thing more hideous, and beside the fierce Rhone, where the successors of the poor fishermen now live as kings. Here the credulous crowd of Christians are caught in the name of Jesus, but by the arts of Belial, and being stripped of their scales, are fried to fill the belly of gluttons. Go to India, or wherever you choose, but avoid Babylon if you do not wish to go down alive to hell. Whatever you have heard or read of as to perfidy and fraud, pride, incontinence and unbridled lust, impiety and wickedness of every kind, you will find here collected and heaped together. Rejoice, and glory in this, O Babylon, situated on the Rhone, that thou art the enemy of the good, the friend of the bad, the asylum of wild beasts, the whore that hast committed fornication with the kings of the earth! Thou art she whom the inspired evangelist saw in the Spirit; yes, thee,

and none but thee, he saw "sitting upon many waters." See thy dress—"A woman clothed in purple and scarlet." Dost thou know thyself, Babylon? Certainly what follows agrees to thee and none else—"Mother of fornications and abominations of the earth." But hear the rest—"I saw," says the evangelist, "a woman drunk with the blood of the saints, and the blood of the martyrs of Jesus." Point out another to whom this is applicable but thee.

The Latin eclogues of Petrarch were full of the same satirical denunciation, and his sonnets in his own language still more openly characterized the holy see as the "school of error, the temple of heresy, the forge of fraud, the hell of the living." Yet Petrarch and his contemporaries, with all their eyes saw of its infamy, had no thought of renouncing the Romish communion! What philosophy shall explain this and kindred facts in the history of the Church in all ages?

The acme of papal power was reached in 1198 A. D., with the reign of Innocent III. From that time until the decease of Boniface VIII., fully a hundred years, the popes sat on the thrones of princes and the benches of judges as truly as in their legitimate spiritual seat at the head of the Church. The declension of their power began with Clement V., the first of the Babylonian popes, and has never ceased. No epochs of its history were more disastrous than the seventy years of the "captivity" and the forty of the great schism which grew directly out of it. Then came the authority of councils, and then the Reformation. From that day popery was doomed, though the throes of its death-struggles have been long and bloody.

The forces that wrought against it can easily be traced. One important enemy was its own obesity. It was not only too plethoric for locomotion, but it was too heavily loaded for its frame-work. It must collapse by its own weight. Vaulting ambition overreaches itself. The treasure-house bursts under the pressure of its contents. The tightening grasp of tyranny at last tortures the sufferer into self-defense. The subtle influences of unbounded prosperity transforms him who should be the holiest of men into the wickedest, and the simple truths of the Gospel into the iron machinery of terrible oppression.

Nationality was asserting itself. That idea was naturally

hostile to papal claims. If a nation was a separate entity, and not a limb of the papal body; if it had an inherent individuality and an independent mission, then the claim of the Church was a usurpation to be resisted. The sphere of the Church was essentially and unchangeably different from that of the State. No monkish incantation nor priestly magic could transform the chair of St. Peter into a secular seat. It was not consistent with the spiritual functions of the head of the Church to lay taxes, receive revenues, raise and manage armies, enact and enforce civil laws, and, in a word, hold the reins of State in his own hand. All this must be done by proxy and by an influence exerted from without. The vicar of Christ must somehow persuade kings and princes that they were ordained of God to be the ministers of the Church, and the executors of his will through its earthly head. When, therefore, rulers and nations broke loose from that theory it would be fatal to the continuance of secular power in the Church. Just this happened.

Philip the Fair, though more as an individual than as the head of a nation, began the fight, and Boniface VIII. found himself unhorsed in the terrible tilt. The house of Valois took up the glove, and France rapidly rose to national independence. England and Germany were not slow to take the same position. Various incidents in the history of minor princes also show that the disposition to defy the claims of the pope was abroad. "Dost thou know, thou old fornicator," said Barnabo Visconti, lord of Milan, "that I am king, pope, and emperor in my own dominions; that the pope has no power over me nor any of my subjects?" Louis of Bavaria declared the pope's absolution of the vassals of the empire from their oaths "a wicked procuration of perjury; the act, not of a vicar of Christ, but of a cruel and lawless tyrant."

Language and literature were beginning their noiseless yet mighty warfare against ecclesiastical despotism. Learning and religion became restive in the too narrow drapery of the Latin language. New tongues began to take shape and embody living thoughts. Men might pray possibly, it began to be thought, in some other than a dead language. Ceremonial and court language might be other than the Latin. Greek put on its resurrection robe. Learning revived. All this

struck heavily at obsolete and antique forms, smitten already with the symptoms of decay. Moreover, many writers appeared who turned their invective either in satire or denunciation with the utmost bitterness and directness against the crimes and licentiousness of the clergy. Such were the "Facetiæ" of Poggio, the "Speculum Stultorum" of Nigel Wircker, and nearer the Reformation the "Praise of Folly," by Erasmus. Burchiello, Pulci, Franco, Walter Mapes, Hemmerlein, Brandt, and others, wrote works that told terribly on the vices of those who "divided their hours between the chapel, the pot-house, and the brothel." William of Occam and John Wiclif in quite another way made learning the agent of reform. The one by his philosophy, and the other by his translation of the Bible, made great havoc with the pretensions of the Church. With all these enemies of popery put also the general awakening of the human mind to independent thought on all subjects, the activity of the spirit of investigation and discovery, the invention of printing, and the general quickening of individual human life, and you have the main causes which wrought the downfall of the papal throne.

One of the most important of the institutions of the papacy beginning with this epoch and continuing for centuries, was the so-called jubilee. It was an agency of great power and profit to the popes, strikingly illustrative of their ingenuity, as well as the credulity of believers. But it also led the way to that gross and wholesale issuing of indulgences that did so much to inaugurate the Reformation. The first of these jubilees was celebrated just before the "captivity" in accordance with a bull of Boniface, founded on slight historical basis, but some traditional testimony. A Church historian had asserted that in the last year of the 12th century not only Romans, but foreigners, had flocked to St. Peter's Church to gain the indulgences which they had been told were to be had in the last year of every century. An old native of Savoy, one hundred and seven years of age, declared to Boniface that he was there with his father one hundred years before, and that the city was crowded with those seeking indulgences. Other old men corroborated these stories on the testimony of their fathers and grandfathers. Boniface saw his opportunity and resolved to confirm the solemnity forever. He issued a bull granting full

remission of all sins to all who in the current year, beginning and ending with Christmas, and every one hundreth thereafter, should visit the Basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul, provided they sincerely repented of these sins and confessed them. Romans must visit the two churches once a day for thirty days, and strangers for fifteen. John Villani visited Rome on this occasion, and assures us that two hundred thousand strangers were in the city during the year, and that they were all supplied with provisions at reasonable rates. Immense sums of money were offered at the tombs of the two apostles. On the first day of the jubilee Boniface appeared in the gorgeous robes of the high pontiff and blessed the people. On the second he showed himself in the imperial mantle, two swords being carried before him by attendants crying, "Behold, here are two swords!" thus assuming the supreme temporal as well as spiritual power.

In 1343 Clement VI. changed the celebration of the jubilee from the one hundred to the fiftieth year, in imitation of the Jewish jubilee. In August, 1348, as the time drew near, he issued a special bull urging all throughout Christendom to avail themselves of this privilege, as it might be the last. Such crowds flocked to Rome, says Petrarch, that one would have thought that the plague which had almost unpeopled the earth had not so much as thinned it. On Passion Sunday, when the handkerchief of Veronica was shown, the crowd was so great that many were suffocated and died in the throng. Matthew Villani, an eye-witness, says that by the computation of the Romans the daily number in Rome from Christmas to Easter was one million to one million two hundred thousand; from Easter to Whitsunday, eight hundred thousand; and through all the excessive heats of summer in no day was there less than two hundred thousand. Meyer says that scarcely one in ten ever returned home, but died of fatigue and hunger. The Romans treated the pilgrims with great cruelty, and made the occasion their harvest for gain.

Urban VI. reduced the jubilee from every fiftieth to every thirty-third year, in memory of the duration of the Saviour's life on earth. During the whole of the year 1390 Rome was crowded with pilgrims from all countries and all ranks of society. But by special permission the kings and queens of

England and Portugal were allowed the same indulgences at home as others obtained by the journey. They must, however, pay the same sum as the journey would have cost them. After the year had expired the same privileges were extended to all who could not make the pilgrimage. Vast sums of money thus came into the papal coffers. The agents of the pope abused their powers, set up their indulgences to the highest bidders, absolved from any crime provided the money was forthcoming, and required no penitence nor restitution.

In 1450 the sixth jubilee was celebrated. The period was now reduced to twenty-five years by Paul II. and Sextus IV., and this is still the period for its celebration. It partially replaced the crusades as a moral force supporting the power of the pope, and led the way, perhaps, to that extensive and reckless sale of indulgences which was the immediate occasion of the Protestant Reformation.

The epoch of the Church we have now been discussing was followed by that of the great schism of the West. In 1378 Urban VI. took his papal seat on the Tiber, and Clement VII. his anti-papal seat on the Rhone. Of the one it was said: "None is so insolent as a low man suddenly raised to power;" of the other, that his name was the antithesis of his character. In Urban, his craft, treachery, and utter inhumanity seemed almost to confirm the charge of madness. In Clement, high birth, courage, and sagacity were a poor offset to his utter want of devotion, holiness, or mercy. For forty years pope and anti-pope glared at each other across the Alps, and Christendom, arrayed in rival battalions, angrily turned the Church into a battle-field of hellish strife, and the States of Europe into an arena of intrigue, hate, and blood. Each pope was most anxious to heal the schism, provided it could be done by the resignation of the other. Boniface, the successor of Urban, addressed Clement by the unconciliating title of Son of Belial; Clement in return threw the messengers of Boniface into prison. Cession, arbitration, a general council, were proposed to heal the breach. It was of no avail. The Rhone pope in his own palace suffered siege, capture, and five years' imprisonment. After his release he invited the principal burghers of Avignon to a feast, barred the doors upon them, and burned them alive. The Vatican pope was tossed on waves of blood.

Murder and pillage reddened the Tiber and blackened the Eternal City. At last came councils—Pisa, Constance, Basle—and a new assumption of power in conflict with papal rights. Then the deposition of both popes and the election of a third. Then at last in 1447 the election of Thomas of Sarzana as Nicholas V., and in 1449 the abdication of Pope Felix, and the Latin Church had once more a single head.

The popedom of Nicholas marks the culmination of this important epoch of the papacy. The dominion of Latin Christianity was drawing to a close, and the dawn of Teutonic Christianity was breaking. A century of such rule as was seen in the career of several of the popes between this period and the Reformation, with their nepotism, horrible cruelty and lust, wars, intrigues, and disasters, was enough. The cup was full, and the permanent division of Christendom was accomplished.

And yet it was during this last century of her power that the Latin Church conferred some of her richest benefits upon the world. Unconsciously, in these very benefits she drew a fatal sword upon herself. To throttle the philosophy of the schoolmen and to patronize the literature of the classics was to put a keen blade into the hands of her enemies. To entertain and introduce to men the poets, philosophers, and historians of Greece was to admit a conquering Cyrus through the channel of her own Euphrates into a self-complacent and secure Babylon. To pour upon the world the light of letters and the beauty of art: to plant her cathedrals, which in their grand silence forever preach a more refining Gospel than the mumbled rituals within, was to break the fetters of ignorance and superstition, and give birth to a power she could never again control.

## Art. VI.—TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

The discovery and publication of an early patristic document, that was supposed to be entirely lost, and the further fact that this ancient treatise, on examination, proves to be of very considerable value, is an event of not a little interest, in these times of active and learned biblical research; and precisely this we have in the case of "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles." Nine years ago—in 1875—Philotheos Briennios, then metropolitan of Serses in Mesopotamia, discovered in the Library of the Holy Sepulcher, in Constantinople, a manuscript volume of which almost nothing appears to have been before known, but which proved on examination to be of great value. It was written in cursive Greek, and is dated A. D. 1056; the scribe or copyist signs himself "Leon, copyist and sinner." The book is made up of 120 leaves or folios of parchment, and contains, first, "Chrysostom's Synopsis of the Books of the New and Old Testaments;" then the "Epistle of Barnabas;" next in order are two "Epistles of Clement;" then comes the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," occupying pages 76–80 of the manuscript, and this is followed by "Twelve Epistles of Ignatius"—the current seven, besides one to the Virgin Mary, and four others. The "find" was chiefly prized by the finder for its complete copies of the "Epistles of Clement," neither of which had been found entire in any of the known manuscripts; and these were soon after published, having been carefully edited by the discoverer. But the pages of the "Teaching" did not escape his notice, for he announced its discovery in his edition of the Clementine Epistles. The newfound book was examined by a number of eminent patristic scholars, but, as far as appears, without suspecting its real character. It is manifest that Bishop Briennios had no correct appreciation of the value of this portion of his discovery, for he said nothing about it when, in addition to the Clementine Epistles, he called public attention to the fact that the book contained the complete Greek text of Barnabas and the "Epistles of Ignatius," both of which he proposed to prepare for publication. Bishop Lightfoot seems to have very faintly suspected that there might be something worthy of attention in the

"Teaching," for in the appendix to his new edition of "St. Clement of Rome" he remarked in passing, while recognizing the great value of "the new Greek of Barnabas," that "what may be the value of the 'Doctrina Duodecim Apostolorum' remains to be seen." And what is still more strange, certain German scholars were engaged in restoring the lost book from fragments preserved in other works, while the complete manuscript, whose discovery had been made public, was disregarded. For eight years after its discovery the "Teaching" remained quietly in the hands of the good bishop, who, during that time, and apparently as a labor of love, carefully edited it, and then gave it to the public, "with an abundance of learned illustrations." This was done in 1883.

A book answering very fully to this is referred to by several of the early apostolic fathers, and, indeed, there can be no doubt of both its genuineness and its antiquity. It is cited by Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius speaks of it in his History as *τῶν Ἀποστόλων οἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί*; and Athanasius names it in one of his epistles. Both the Apostolical Constitutions and the Apostolical Epitome were evidently in part drawn from this work. From these sources the attempt was made, by Krawatzky and others, to reconstruct the lost document, with most remarkable success, as is seen by comparing their work with the original. A catalogue of the books of the Scriptures, canonical and uncanonical, attributed to Nicephorus, patriarch of Constantinople, (A. D. 806–814,) includes among the latter the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," and it is placed between the "Gospel of Thomas" and the "Epistles of Clement." This is the latest reference anywhere found to the document. The "Teaching" probably belongs to the second century. Some would even place it in the last decade of the first, but about the middle of the second is its most probable date. Its whole tone is in harmony with the recognized writings of that time, and while it contains nothing which forbids its assignment to that date, its antiquity is corroborated by an abundance of collateral evidence.

In respect to its form and substance the "Teaching" appears to have been designed to serve as a manual to Christian converts and believers, and a directory for certain ordinary religious services. The first six chapters relate to moral duties. Then follow instructions respecting baptism, fasting, and

prayer, the eucharist, with forms of prayer and thanksgiving. After these are given somewhat definite instructions in respect to religious teachers; cautions against impostors and pretenders; exhortations to duly reverence the genuine; the Lord's day services; directions respecting the appointment and the treatment of bishops and deacons; of brotherly love and duty, and of personal devotion and watchfulness—the whole made the more impressive by a reference to Christ's expected coming "in the clouds of heaven, and all his saints with him."

In tone and style the tractate is Petrine rather than Pauline; Judaistic or Syrian rather than Ephesian or Roman, and it has therefore been inferred that its place of origin must have been somewhere in the East, perhaps Antioch, or some other place in Northern Syria. Its forms of thought and its references and illustrations are distinctively Jewish; and yet there are manifestly purposed oppositions to certain Jewish opinions and practices—as when a difference respecting the fast-days is prescribed, or the "Lord's day" substituted for the Sabbath, as the time for the assembling for public worship. But, as with the Jews, the hours of prayer and the days for fasting are definitely prescribed. The ethical element has the first place; great emphasis is laid on certain observances—fasting, almsgiving, and forms of prayer. On the other hand, there is a notable absence of reference to the peculiar facts and doctrines of the Gospel; to the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, and the forgiveness of sin in virtue of his atoning sacrifice. In these things the "Teaching" is not unlike the Epistle of James, presenting chiefly the ethical and disciplinary side of religion. These things indicate that its locality must have been elsewhere than in Western Asia or Europe—the regions in which the specifically Pauline conceptions of Christianity prevailed.

Respecting the date of its composition the internal evidence agrees very well with the external, fixing it not later than the earlier part of the second century. The coincidences of both thought and language between it and both Hermas and Barnabas render it almost certain that either these quoted from that, or that from these; and it seems the more probable that the "Teaching" was the original. Certainly, ritualistic tendencies early manifested themselves in the Church; at first in

very small proportions, but steadily increasing in extent and exactness. Signs of the beginning of these things are clearly manifest in this tractate, which appear in the "Pastor of Hermas," and the "Epistle of Barnabas" still further developed. The Apostles' Creed, also, lies in this line of development, for while in the "Teaching" no confession of faith is prescribed to the candidate for baptism, the Creed, which must have been a somewhat later production, and which was required of candidates, is a rather comprehensive statement of Christian *credenda*. The Apostolical Constitutions, which belong to a still later time, carry the ritualistic prescription much further. As, therefore, the place of the preparation of this manual was pretty certainly somewhere toward the east of north-east of the Mediterranean Sea, so also its date very naturally falls within the first half of the second century.

The references to various classes or orders of Christian teachers and inchoate ecclesiastical arrangements indicate an existing transitional state of things. Not much is said about apostles, but evidently their place is supplied by the "prophets," who seem to have been a class of itinerant evangelists, with more or less authority according as they were or were not recognized as "true prophets." But clearly they could exercise only a moral and advisory authority in the Church; and even in that day the abuse of the "religious tramp" had become so large that each new-comer was required to prove his claims—to work for his own support, or to pass on. The local churches were becoming individualized, with the two cardinal conditions of self-government and self-support. There were "bishops," but these were manifestly of the same kind or order, as elders or presbyters; and there were "deacons," stewards of the temporalities, who, however, were expected to be like their predecessors at Jerusalem, "men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom;" but they were such as in the Church of our day would be styled laymen. The distinction of three orders in the ministry seems to have been as yet unknown; and as that began to appear scarcely earlier than the end of the second century, these things agree with the conclusion before reached as to the date of this writing.

The instructions respecting baptism, fasting, and the eucharist indicate a very considerable growth of ritualism, as

pared with what is found in the New Testament, and yet much less than appears in the Apostolical Constitutions. In the New Testament nothing is required but to profess faith in Christ, and purposed repentance, and the form of the administration has been left so undefined that nobody knows certainly what was the mode of apostolical baptism. In the "Teaching" a preparatory process is dictated, which, however, relates almost entirely to certain details and formalities. No profession of faith is required, no creed recited, but only the subject is to be baptized in the name of the holy Trinity. As to the mode much more is required, but just what it was is very uncertain. "Living" [running?] water must be used, for which requirement neither authority nor reason is given; but the requirement was not absolute, for other water might be used; and if cold water was not at hand, then warm water would serve, and in the absence of both, [in sufficient quantity,] then it was sufficient if water were poured on the head three times, in the name of the Sacred Persons. The reading of the text, and especially the force of the word *in*, (ἐν,) seems to imply that the baptized must enter the water of baptism; but whether so that his whole body should be immersed, or only so as to cover his feet, the text does not determine—the ancient *iconographs* favor the latter, and the only thing that seems to be considered indispensable was the threefold affusion upon the head, *into* (εἰς) the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

In respect to who were or could be subjects of baptism, it has been claimed that the necessary implication is that none but adults could comply with the required conditions, and because nothing is said about any others the inference is that no other subjects were thought of as possible. But, at most, this evidence is only negative, and so leaves room for another conclusion; and as there were no vows to be taken nor creed to be professed, and as it is known that even little children were subjected to fastings in patristic times, the implication referred to is far from being conclusive. No word is said about either the moral or spiritual significance of baptism, though it is named as a prerequisite to uniting in the eucharist, which has a remote glancing at the magical effects of baptism, that afterward become the prevailing belief.

The eucharist—the Lord's Supper of Protestantism—appears

to have been regarded chiefly, as its name suggests, as a service of thanksgiving, not specifically for God's great gift of his Son, but generally for all good things. There is no allusion to either a commemoration or a symbolizing of Christ's death, which not only sweeps away all thought of transubstantiation, but also empties the service of the characteristics for which all grades of orthodox Protestants value the sacred ordinance. The Apostolical Constitutions, in their prescribed order for the administration of this sacrament, are much more in accordance with the modern, and certainly the scriptural, idea; for whatever may be thought of some other things found in them, this whole service, as there set forth, is both more scriptural and evangelical, and incomparably richer than that under notice.

Though very moderately liturgical in comparison with the elaborate forms that were instituted in later times, yet, as compared with what is found in the New Testament, what is contained in the "Teaching" shows no inconsiderable advance in that direction. This may be seen in the prescriptions respecting the forms and conditions to be observed in the administration of the two sacraments, most of which are clearly extra-scriptural, and in some things puerile. Somewhat elaborate prescriptions are also given respecting prayer. Three times a day each one was directed to pray, using the Lord's prayer as given by Matthew, including the doxology, except that "the kingdom" is not named. The presence of this doxology, which is not found in the oldest copies of the New Testament, and is omitted from the Revised Version, indicates the development of liturgical forms in the early Church, which, however, in this case was still incomplete. Somewhat elaborate forms of thanksgiving at the eucharistic feast are given, with the significant permission that the prophets may give thanks as much as they will. The eucharist was to be celebrated every Lord's day, which appears to have been the practice from the beginning, and was to be preceded by the confession of sin, apparently to the whole Church, and if there were "quarrels" between any they must be reconciled.

The closing exhortation brings into notice the well-known fact, that in the early Church the expectation of the speedy coming of Christ was very generally prevalent. The words here

used imply that so imminent was that stupendous event that each one ought to be always expecting its manifestation. Some things in the apostolical epistles seem certainly to favor that view, and with such preconceptions it was easy to interpret our Lord's words in Matthew xxiv, xxv, in the same way. On the face of the words St. Paul seems evidently to have declared the event near at hand, and both he and some others of the apostolic writers use the fact of the early coming of Christ as a motive to diligence and long-suffering on the part of Christians—motives which are readily deduced from the certainty and the nearness of death, to which, however, they seldom definitely refer. But the lapse of eighteen hundred years, without the fulfillment of the expectation, suggests the necessity for reconsidering the whole subject with the aid of the facts of history.

Intimations have occurred that after all this pretended discovery may turn out to be a cheat or a forgery; but the proof of its genuineness as an ancient production, and of its identity with the work of the same name referred to by the fathers of the early Church, scarcely admits of doubt. The quotations made from the "Teaching" still found in the writings of the fathers are identical with what is found in the newly discovered manuscript, and taking these for their guide a company of German scholars a few years ago set about reproducing the original, which was published just about the time that the original was discovered, and the two are found to coincide with remarkable exactness. The manuscript has also been seen and somewhat scrutinized by several trustworthy scholars —among them Dr. Long, of Robert College—and they seem to have had no doubt that the manuscript is really what its discoverer supposed. If genuine, however, its value as an authority is still an open question. It was reckoned as apocryphal by the fathers, and it has internal signs of not being a trustworthy expression of the early Church in its apostolical catholicity, if, indeed, that specific characteristic had been developed at the date of this document, which may be doubted.

For the benefit of our readers who may not have seen a copy of the "Teaching," and that the above remarks may be the better appreciated, we give in the following pages the original text, with a pretty exact translation, of the famous tract.

## ΔΙΔΑΧΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΩΔΕΚΑ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

*Διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν.*

Κεφ. α. Ὁδοὶ δύο εἰσί, μία τῆς ζωῆς καὶ μία τοῦ θανάτου, διαφορὰ
2 δὲ πολλὴ μεταξὺ τῶν δύο ὁδῶν. Ἡ μὲν οὖν ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς ἐστιν
3 αὕτη· πρῶτον, ἀγαπήσεις τὸν Θεὸν τὸν ποιήσαντά σε· δεύτερον, τὸν
4 πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν· πάντα δὲ ὅσα ἐὰν θελήσῃς μὴ γίνεσθαί
5 σοι, καὶ σὺ ἄλλῳ μὴ ποίει· Τούτων δὲ τῶν λόγων ἡ διδαχή ἐστιν
6 αὕτη· Εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμῖν καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν, νηστεύετε δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς· ποία
γὰρ χάρις, ἐὰν ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἀγαπῶντας ὑμᾶς; οὐχὶ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη
τὸ αὐτὸ ποιοῦσιν; ὑμεῖς δὲ ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς μισοῦντας ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐχ
7 ἕξετε ἐχθρόν. Ἀπέχου τῶν σαρκικῶν καὶ κοσμικῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.
8 Ἐάν τις σοι δῷ ῥάπισμα εἰς τὴν δεξιὰν διαγόνα, στρέψον αὐτῷ
καὶ τὴν ἄλλην, καὶ ἔσῃ τέλειος· ἐὰν ἀγγαρεύσῃ σέ τις μίλιον ἕν,
ὕπαγε μετ' αὐτοῦ δύο· ἐὰν ἄρῃ τις τὸ ἱμάτιόν σου, δὸς αὐτῷ καὶ
τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐὰν λάβῃ τις ἀπὸ σοῦ τὸ σόν, μὴ ἀπαίτει· οὐδὲ γὰρ
9 δύνασαι. Παντὶ τῷ αἰτοῦντί σε δίδου καὶ μὴ ἀπαίτει· πᾶσι γὰρ
10 θέλει δίδοσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων χαρισμάτων. Μακάριος ὁ
11 διδοὺς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν· ἀθῷος γάρ ἐστιν· οὐαὶ τῷ λαμβάνοντι·
εἰ μὲν γὰρ χρείαν ἔχων λαμβάνει τις, ἀθῷος ἔσται· ὁ δὲ μὴ χρείαν
ἔχων δώσει δίκην, ἱνατί ἔλαβε καὶ εἰς τί, ἐν συνοχῇ δὲ γενόμενος
ἐξετασθήσεται περὶ ὧν ἔπραξε, καὶ οὐκ ἐξελεύσεται ἐκεῖθεν μέχρις
οὐ ἀποδῷ τὸν ἔσχατον κοδράντην. Ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτου δὴ
12 εἰρηται· Ἱδρωσάτω ἡ ἐλεημοσύνη σου εἰς τὰς χεῖράς σου, μέχρις
ἂν γνῷς τίνι δῷς.

Κεφ. β'. Δευτέρα δὲ ἐντολὴ τῆς διδαχῆς. Οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύ-
2 σεις, οὐ παιδοφθορήσεις, οὐ πορνεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ μαγεύσεις,
οὐ φαρμακεύσεις, οὐ φονεύσεις τέκνον ἐν φθορᾷ οὐδὲ γεννηθὲν
3 ἀποκτενεῖς. Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις τὰ τοῦ πλησίον, οὐκ ἐπιορκήσεις.
4 οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, οὐ κακολογήσεις, οὐ μνησικακήσεις. Οὐκ
ἔσῃ διγνώμων οὐδὲ δίγλωσσος· παγὶς γὰρ θανάτου ἡ διγλωσσία.
5 Οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδὴς, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει.
6 Οὐκ ἔσῃ πλεονέκτης οὐδὲ ἅρπαξ οὐδὲ ὑποκριτὴς οὐδὲ κακοήθης
7 οὐδὲ ὑπερήφανος. Οὐ λήψῃ βουλὴν πονηρὰν κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον
8 σου. Οὐ μισήσεις πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ οὓς μὲν ἐλέγξεις, περὶ
δὲ ὧν προσεύξῃ. οὓς δὲ ἀγαπήσεις ὑπὲρ τὴν ψυχήν σου.

## TEACHING OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES.

Teaching of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles to the Nations.

CHAPTER I. There are two ways, one of life and one of death, and the difference between the two ways is great.

2 The way of life, then, is this:

3 First, Thou shalt love the God who made thee:

4 Second, Thy neighbor as thyself; and all things whatsoever thou wouldst not have befall thee, do thou, too, not to another.

5 And of these words the Teaching is this: Bless them that
6 curse you, and pray for your enemies, and fast for them that persecute you; for what thank *have ye* if ye love them that love you? do not the nations also the same? but love ye them that hate you, and ye shall not have an enemy.

7 Abstain from fleshly and worldly lusts.

8 If one give thee a blow on the right cheek, turn to him the other also, and thou shalt be perfect; if any one press thee into service for one mile, go with him two; if one take away thy cloak, give him thy coat also; if one take from thee thine own, ask *it* not back; for not even canst thou.

9 Give to every one that asketh thee, and ask not back; for
to all the Father wills that there be given of his own free
10 gifts. Blessed is he that giveth according to the command-
11 ment; for he is guiltless. Woe to him that receiveth; for [but] if, indeed, one that hath need receiveth, he shall be guiltless; but he that hath not need, shall submit to trial *with reference to* why he received and for what *purpose*, and, having come into custody, shall be examined with reference to what he did, and shall not go forth thence until he have paid the last farthing.

12 But concerning this, also, it hath been said: Let thine alms sweat in thy hands until thou know to whom to give.

CHAP. II. And *the* second commandment of the Teaching *is:*
2 Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not corrupt boys, thou shalt not commit fornication, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not use magic arts, thou shalt not practice sorcery, thou shalt not kill a child by abortion nor put it
3 to death when born. Thou shalt not covet the things of thy neighbor, thou shalt not forswear thyself, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not speak evil, thou shalt not bear a
4 grudge. Thou shalt not be double-minded nor double-
5 tongued; for doubleness of tongue is a snare of death. Thy word shall not be false, nor empty, but fulfilled by deed.
6 Thou shalt not be covetous, nor rapacious, nor a hypocrite,
7 nor malicious, nor haughty. Thou shalt not take evil counsel
8 against thy neighbor. Thou shalt not hate any man, but some thou shalt reprove, and for some thou shalt pray, and some thou shalt love above thy life.

Κεφ. γ'. Τέκνον μου, φεῦγε ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς
2 ὁμοίου αὐτοῦ. Μὴ γίνου ὀργίλος· ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ὀργὴ πρὸς τὸν
φόνον· μηδὲ ζηλωτὴς μηδὲ ἐριστικὸς μηδὲ θυμικός· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων
3 ἁπάντων φόνοι γεννῶνται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ἐπιθυμητής·
ὁδηγεῖ γὰρ ἡ ἐπιθυμία πρὸς τὴν πορνείαν· μηδὲ αἰσχρολόγος μηδὲ
ὑψηλόφθαλμος· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων μοιχεῖαι γεννῶνται.
4 Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν εἰδωλο-
λατρείαν· μηδὲ ἐπαοιδὸς μηδὲ μαθηματικὸς μηδὲ περικαθαίρων,
μηδὲ θέλε αὐτὰ βλέπειν· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων εἰδωλολατρεία
5 γεννᾶται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου ψεύστης· ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ τὸ ψευσ-
μα εἰς τὴν κλοπήν· μηδὲ φιλάργυρος μηδὲ κενόδοξος· ἐκ γὰρ τού-
6 των ἁπάντων κλοπαὶ γεννῶνται. Τέκνον μου, μὴ γίνου γόγγυσος·
7 ἐπειδὴ ὁδηγεῖ εἰς τὴν βλασφημίαν· μηδὲ αὐθάδης μηδὲ πονηρό-
φρων· ἐκ γὰρ τούτων ἁπάντων βλασφημίαι γεννῶνται. Ἴσθι
8 δὲ πραΰς, ἐπεὶ οἱ πραεῖς κληρονομήσουσι τὴν γῆν. Γίνου μακρό-
θυμος καὶ ἐλεήμων καὶ ἄκακος καὶ ἡσύχιος καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τρέμων
9 τοὺς λόγους διὰ παντός, οὓς ἤκουσας. Οὐχ ὑψώσεις σεαυτὸν οὐδὲ
10 δώσεις τῇ ψυχῇ σου θράσος. Οὐ κολληθήσεται ἡ ψυχή σου μετὰ
11 ὑψηλῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ δικαίων καὶ ταπεινῶν ἀναστραφήσῃ. Τὰ
συμβαίνοντά σοι ἐνεργήματα ὡς ἀγαθὰ προσδέξῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἄτερ
Θεοῦ οὐδὲν γίνεται.

Κεφ. δ'. Τέκνον μου, τοῦ λαλοῦντός σοι τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ μνησ-
θήσῃ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας, τιμήσεις δὲ αὐτὸν ὡς Κύριον· ὅθεν γὰρ
2 ἡ κυριότης λαλεῖται, ἐκεῖ Κύριός ἐστιν. Ἐκζητήσεις δὲ καθ'
ἡμέραν τὰ πρόσωπα τῶν ἁγίων, ἵνα ἐπαναπαύῃ τοῖς λόγοις αὐτῶν.
3 Οὐ ποθήσεις σχίσμα, εἰρηνεύσεις δὲ μαχομένους· κρινεῖς δικαίως,
4 οὐ λήψῃ πρόσωπον ἐλέγξαι ἐπὶ παραπτώμασιν. Οὐ διψυχήσεις,
5 πότερον ἔσται ἢ οὔ. Μὴ γίνου πρὸς μὲν τὸ λαβεῖν ἐκτείνων τὰς
χεῖρας, πρὸς δὲ τὸ δοῦναι συσπῶν· ἐὰν ἔχῃς, διὰ τῶν χειρῶν σου
6 δώσεις λύτρωσιν ἁμαρτιῶν σου. Οὐ διστάσεις δοῦναι οὐδὲ διδοὺς
γογγύσεις· γνώσῃ γὰρ τίς ἐστιν ὁ τοῦ μισθοῦ καλὸς ἀνταποδότης.
7 Οὐκ ἀποστραφήσῃ τὸν ἐνδεόμενον, συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ
ἀδελφῷ σου καὶ οὐκ ἐρεῖς ἴδια εἶναι· εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοι-
8 νωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς; Οὐκ ἀρεῖς τὴν χεῖρά
σου ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρός σου, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεότητος
9 διδάξεις τὸν φόβον τοῦ Θεοῦ. Οὐκ ἐπιτάξεις δούλῳ σου ἢ παιδίσ-

CHAP. III. My child, flee from every evil *thing*, and from every thing like it.

2 Be not prone to anger, for anger leadeth to murder; nor jealous, nor contentious, nor passionate; for out of all these, murders are begotten.

3 My child, be not one that lusteth, for lust leadeth to fornication; nor of foul speech, nor of leering eyes; for out of all these, adulteries are begotten.

4 My child, be not an augur, since *augury* leadeth to idolatry; nor an enchanter; nor an astrologer; nor a purifier [a concoctor of charms?]; nor be willing to behold these things; for out of all these, idolatry is begotten.

5 My child, be not a liar, since lying leadeth to theft, nor a lover of money, nor vain-glorious; for out of all these, thefts are begotten.

6 My child, be not a murmurer, since *murmuring* leadeth to blasphemy; nor self-willed, nor evil-minded, for out of all these, blasphemies are begotten.

7 But be meek, since the meek shall inherit the earth. Be
8 long-suffering and pitiful and guileless and quiet and good, and continually trembling at the words which thou hast heard.
9 Thou shalt not exalt thyself, nor give assurance to thy soul.
10 Thy soul shall not be joined with lofty *ones*, but with righteous and lowly *ones* shalt thou hold converse.

11 The events that befall thee, thou shalt accept as good, knowing that nothing cometh to pass without God.

CHAP. IV. My child, him that speaketh to thee the word of God, thou shalt remember night and day, and shalt honor him as *the* Lord; for where the sovereignty of the Lord is proclaimed, there is *the* Lord.

2 And thou shalt seek out daily the faces of the saints, that thou mayest rest upon their words.

3 Thou shalt not be desirous of division, but shalt bring contending *ones* to peace; thou shalt judge righteously; thou shalt not respect persons in reproving for transgressions.

4 Thou shalt not hesitate whether *this* shall be or not.

5 Be not *one* that with reference to receiving stretcheth out the hands, but with reference to giving contracteth *them:* thou shalt give by thy hands a ransom, if thou have *it*, for thy sins.
6 Thou shalt not hesitate to give, nor when giving shalt thou murmur; for thou shalt know who is the good Recompenser
7 of the offering. Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in want, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own; for if ye are partakers [together] in that which is immortal, how much more in the things which are mortal.

8 Thou shalt not remove thy hand from thy son or from thy daughter, but from youth shalt teach *them* the fear of God.

9 Thou shalt not lay commands in thy bitterness on thy

κη, τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν Θεὸν ἐλπίζουσιν, ἐν πικρίᾳ σου, μήποτε οὐ μὴ φοβηθήσονται τὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις Θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ἔρχεται κατὰ
10 πρόσωπον καλέσαι, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα ἡτοίμασεν. Ὑμεῖς δὲ
11 οἱ δοῦλοι ὑποταγήσεσθε τοῖς κυρίοις ὑμῶν ὡς τύπῳ Θεοῦ ἐν αἰσ-
12 χύνῃ καὶ φόβῳ. Μισήσεις πᾶσαν ὑπόκρισιν καὶ πᾶν ὃ μὴ ἀρεστὸν
13 τῷ Κυρίῳ. Οὐ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς ἐντολὰς Κυρίου, φυλάξεις δὲ ἃ
παρέλαβες, μήτε προστιθεὶς μήτε ἀφαιρῶν. Ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐξομο-
14 λογήσῃ τὰ παραπτώματά σου, καὶ οὐ προσελεύσῃ ἐπὶ προσευχήν
σου ἐν συνειδήσει πονηρᾷ. Αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδὸς τῆς ζωῆς.

Κεφ. ε'. Ἡ δὲ τοῦ θανάτου ὁδός ἐστιν αὕτη· πρῶτον πάντων
2,3 πονηρά ἐστι καὶ κατάρας μεστή· φόνοι, μοιχεῖαι, ἐπιθυμίαι, πορ-
νεῖαι, κλοπαί, εἰδωλολατρεῖαι, μαγεῖαι, φαρμακεῖαι, ἁρπαγαί, ψευ-
4 δομαρτυρίαι, ὑποκρίσεις, διπλοκαρδία, δόλος, ὑπερηφανία, κακία,
5 αὐθάδεια, πλεονεξία, αἰσχρολογία, ζηλοτυπία, θρασύτης, ὕψος,
6 ἀλαζονεία· διῶκται ἀγαθῶν, μισοῦντες ἀλήθειαν, ἀγαπῶντες ψεῦ-
δος, οὐ γινώσκοντες μισθὸν δικαιοσύνης, οὐ κολλώμενοι ἀγαθῷ
οὐδὲ κρίσει δικαίᾳ, ἀγρυπνοῦντες οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ
7 πονηρόν· ὧν μακρὰν πραυτης καὶ ὑπομονή, μάταια ἀγαπῶντες,
διώκοντες ἀνταπόδομα, οὐκ ἐλεοῦντες πτωχόν, οὐ πονοῦντες ἐπὶ
8 καταπονουμένῳ, οὐ γινώσκοντες τὸν ποιήσαντα αὐτούς, φονεῖς
9 τέκνων, φθορεῖς πλάσματος Θεοῦ, ἀποστρεφόμενοι τὸν ἐνδεόμενον,
καταπονοῦντες τὸν θλιβόμενον, πλουσίων παράκλητοι, πενήτων
10 ἄνομοι κριταί, πανθαμάρτητοι· ῥυσθείητε, τέκνα, ἀπὸ τούτων
ἁπάντων.

Κεφ. ς'. Ὅρα μή τις σε πλανήσῃ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τῆς διδαχῆς,
2 ἐπεὶ παρεκτὸς Θεοῦ σε διδάσκει. Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δύνασαι βαστάσαι
ὅλον τὸν ζυγὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, τέλειος ἔσῃ· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι, ὃ δύνῃ
3 τοῦτο ποίει. Περὶ δὲ τῆς βρώσεως, ὃ δύνασαι βάστασον· ἀπὸ δὲ
τοῦ εἰδωλοθύτου λίαν πρόσεχε· λατρεία γάρ ἐστι θεῶν νεκρῶν.

Κεφ. ζ'. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ βαπτίσματος, οὕτω βαπτίσατε· ταῦτα πάντα
2 προειπόντες, βαπτίσατε εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ
3 τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν ὕδατι ζῶντι. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχῃς ὕδωρ ζῶν,
εἰς ἄλλο ὕδωρ βάπτισον· εἰ δ' οὐ δύνασαι ἐν ψυχρῷ, ἐν θερμῷ.
4 Ἐὰν δὲ ἀμφότερα μὴ ἔχῃς, ἔκχεον εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν τρὶς ὕδωρ εἰς
5 ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βαπ-
τίσματος προνηστευσάτω ὁ βαπτίζων καὶ ὁ βαπτιζόμενος καὶ εἴ
τινες ἄλλοι δύνανται· κελεύσεις δὲ νηστεῦσαι τὸν βαπτιζόμενον
πρὸ μιᾶς ἢ δύο.

bondman or maid-servant, who hope in the same God, lest perchance they shall not fear the God who is over both; for he cometh not to call according to appearance, but unto those whom
10 the Spirit hath prepared. And ye, the bondmen, shall, in modesty and fear, be subject to your masters as to a type of God.
11 Thou shalt hate all hypocrisy and every thing that *is* not pleasing to the Lord.
12 Do not in any wise forsake *the* commandments of *the* Lord; but thou shalt guard what thou hast received, neither adding thereto nor taking therefrom.
13 In *the* church thou shalt confess thy transgressions, and thou shalt not come to thy prayer with an evil conscience.
14 This is the Way of Life.

CHAP. V. And the Way of Death is this:
2, 3 First of all, it is evil and full of curse; murders, adulteries, lusts, fornications, thefts, idolatries, magic practices, sorceries,
4 rapines; false testimonies, hypocrisies, double-heartedness, de-
5 ceit, haughtiness; malice, self-will, covetousness, filthy talking,
6 jealousy, self-assurance, loftiness, boastfulness; persecutors of good *men*, hating truth, loving falsehood, not knowing *the* reward of righteousness, not joined to *any thing* good nor to righteous judgment, watching not with a view to good, but
7 with a view to evil; far from whom *are* meekness and patience, loving vain things, pursuing a requital, not pitying a poor *man*, not toiling for one borne down with toil, not knowing Him
8 that made them; murderers of children, destroyers of God's
9 handiwork; turning away from him that is in want, oppressing him that is afflicted, rich *men's* advocates, poor *men's* lawless judges; utter sinners.
10 May ye be delivered, children, from all these.

CHAP. VI. See that no one cause thee to wander from this Way of the Teaching, since *thus* aloof [away] from God doth he
2 teach thee. For, if thou art able to bear the whole yoke of the Lord, thou shalt be perfect; but if thou art not able, what thou art able, that do.
3 And concerning food, brook [abstain from] what thou art able; but of that which is sacrificed to idols beware exceedingly, for it is a worship of dead gods.

CHAP. VII. And concerning baptism, thus baptize ye:
2 Having first said all these things, baptize into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in living
3 water. But if thou have not living water, baptize into other
4 water; and if thou canst not in cold, in warm. But if thou have not either, pour out water thrice upon the head, into the
5 name of Father and Son and Holy Spirit. But before the baptism, let the baptizer and the baptized fast, and any others, if they can; and thou shalt command the baptized to fast one or two days before.

Κεφ. ή. Αἱ δὲ νηστεῖαι ὑμῶν μὴ ἔστωσαν μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν· νηστεύουσι γὰρ δευτέρᾳ σαββάτων καὶ πέμπτῃ· ὑμεῖς δὲ νηστεύσατε
2 τετράδα καὶ παρασκευήν. Μηδὲ προσεύχεσθε ὡς οἱ ὑποκριταί, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ Κύριος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ αὐτοῦ, οὕτω προσεύ-
3 χεσθε· Πάτερ ἡμῶν ὁ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου, ἐλθέτω ἡ βασιλεία σου, γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς· τὸν ἄρτον ἡμῶν τὸν ἐπιούσιον δὸς ἡμῖν σήμερον καὶ ἄφες ἡμῖν τὴν ὀφειλὴν ἡμῶν ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀφίεμεν τοῖς ὀφειλέταις ἡμῶν, καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς πειρασμόν, ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ· ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.
4 Τρὶς τῆς ἡμέρας οὕτω προσεύχεσθε.

Κεφ. θ'. Περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· πρῶτον
2 περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἁγίας ἀμπέλου Δαβὶδ τοῦ παιδός σου, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ
3 Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος· Εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἡμῶν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς καὶ γνώσεως, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου· σοὶ ἡ
4 δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ὥσπερ ἦν τοῦτο κλάσμα διεσκορπισμένον ἐπάνω τῶν ὀρέων καὶ συναχθὲν ἐγένετο ἕν, οὕτω συναχθήτω σου ἡ ἐκκλησία ἀπὸ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ δόξα καὶ ἡ δύναμις διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶ-
5 νας. Μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω ἀπὸ τῆς εὐχαριστίας ὑμῶν, ἀλλ' οἱ βαπτισθέντες εἰς ὄνομα Κυρίου· καὶ γὰρ περὶ τούτου εἴρηκεν ὁ Κύριος· Μὴ δῶτε τὸ ἅγιον τοῖς κυσί.

Κεφ. ί. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε· Εὐχαρισ-
2 τοῦμέν σοι, Πάτερ ἅγιε, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματός σου, οὗ κατεσκήνωσας ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ἡμῶν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς γνώσεως καὶ πίστεως καὶ ἀθανασίας, ἧς ἐγνώρισας ἡμῖν διὰ Ἰησοῦ τοῦ παιδός σου·
3 σοὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Σύ, δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, ἔκτισας τὰ πάντα ἕνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματός σου, τροφήν τε καὶ ποτὸν ἔδωκας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν ἵνα σοι εὐχαριστήσωσιν, ἡμῖν δὲ ἐχαρίσω πνευματικὴν τροφὴν καὶ ποτὸν καὶ ζωὴν αἰώνιον διὰ τοῦ
4 παιδός σου. Πρὸ πάντων εὐχαριστοῦμέν σοι ὅτι δυνατὸς εἶ· σοὶ ἡ
5 δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Μνήσθητι, Κύριε, τῆς ἐκκλησίας σου τοῦ ῥύσασθαι αὐτὴν ἀπὸ παντὸς πονηροῦ καὶ τελειῶσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ σου, καὶ σύναξον αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀνέμων, τὴν
6 ἁγιασθεῖσαν εἰς τὴν σὴν βασιλείαν, ἣν ἡτοίμασας αὐτῇ· ὅτι σοῦ
7 ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἐλθέτω χάρις καὶ παρελθέτω ὁ κόσμος οὗτος. Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ. Εἴ τις ἅγιός ἐστιν, ἐρχέσθω· εἴ τις οὐκ ἔστι, μετανοείτω· μαραναθά.
8 Ἀμήν. Τοῖς δὲ προφήταις ἐπιτρέπετε εὐχαριστεῖν ὅσα θέλουσιν.

CHAP. VIII. But let not your fastings be with the hypocrites; for they fast on *the* Second *Day* of the week and on *the* Fifth; but do ye fast *the* Fourth and Preparation.

2 Neither pray ye as the hypocrites, but as the Lord commanded in his gospel, thus pray:

3 Our Father who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done, as in heaven, *so* also on earth. Give us to-day our daily bread, and forgive us our debt as we, too, forgive our debtors. And bring us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil; for thine is the power and the glory forever.

4 Pray thus three times in the day.

CHAP. IX. And concerning the Eucharist, thus give thanks. First, concerning the cup:

2 We thank thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David, thy servant, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee *be* the glory forever.

3 And concerning the broken *bread:*

We thank thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy serv-

4 ant; to thee *be* the glory forever. Just as this, a broken piece, was scattered upon the hills, and was gathered together and became one, so let thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom; for thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever.

5 But let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist, but those that have been baptized into *the* name of *the* Lord; for concerning this the Lord hath said: Give not that which is holy to the dogs.

CHAP. X. And after being filled, thus give thanks:

2 We thank thee, holy Father, for thy holy name, which thou hast caused to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality, which thou hast made known to us through Jesus thy servant; to thee *be* the glory forever.

3 Thou, Almighty Sovereign, didst create the universe for thy name's sake; both food and drink thou gavest men for enjoyment, that they might give thanks to thee; but to us thou hast graciously given spiritual food and drink and life eternal

4 through thy servant. Before all things, we thank thee that

5 thou art mighty: to thee *be* the glory forever. Remember, Lord, thy Church, to deliver it from every evil and to make it perfect in thy love; and do thou gather it from the four winds, the sanctified *Church*, into thy kingdom, which thou hast prepared for it; for thine is the power and the glory for-

6 ever. Let grace come, and let this world pass away. Ho-

7 sannah to the Son of David. If any one is holy, let him come: if any one is not, let him repent: Maranatha. Amen.

8 But permit the prophets to express what thanks they wish.

Κεφ. ιά. Ὃς ἂν οὖν ἐλθὼν διδάξῃ ὑμᾶς ταῦτα πάντα, τὰ προειρημένα, δέξασθε αὐτόν· ἐὰν δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ διδάσκων στραφεὶς διδάσκῃ ἄλλην διδαχὴν εἰς τὸ καταλῦσαι, μὴ αὐτοῦ ἀκούσητε· εἰς δὲ τὸ προσθεῖναι δικαιοσύνην καὶ γνῶσιν Κυρίου, δέξασθε αὐτὸν ὡς
2 Κύριον. Περὶ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν κατὰ τὸ δόγμα
3 τοῦ εὐαγγελίου, οὕτω ποιήσατε. Πᾶς δὲ ἀπόστολος ἐρχόμενος πρὸς ὑμᾶς δεχθήτω ὡς Κύριος· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ ἡμέραν μίαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἡ χρεία, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην· τρεῖς δὲ ἐὰν μείνῃ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστίν.
4 Ἐξερχόμενος δὲ ὁ ἀπόστολος μηδὲν λαμβανέτω εἰμὴ ἄρτον ἕως οὗ
5 αὐλισθῇ· ἐὰν δὲ ἀργύριον αἰτῇ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. Καὶ παντα προφήτην λαλοῦντα ἐν πνεύματι οὐ πειράσετε οὐδὲ διακρινεῖτε· πᾶσα γὰρ ἁμαρτία ἀφεθήσεται, αὕτη δὲ ἡ ἁμαρτία οὐκ ἀφεθήσεται.
6 Οὐ πᾶς δὲ ὁ λαλῶν ἐν πνεύματι προφήτης ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἔχῃ
7 τοὺς τρόπους Κυρίου. Ἀπὸ οὖν τῶν τρόπων γνωσθήσεται ὁ ψευδοπροφήτης καὶ ὁ προφήτης. Καὶ πᾶς προφήτης ὁρίζων τράπεζαν
8 ἐν πνεύματι, οὐ φάγεται ἀπ' αὐτῆς, εἰδὲ μήγε ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί· πᾶς δὲ προφήτης διδάσκων τὴν ἀλήθειαν, εἰ ἃ διδάσκει οὐ
9 ποιεῖ, ψευδοπροφήτης ἐστί. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης δεδοκιμασμένος, ἀληθινός, ποιῶν εἰς μυστήριον κοσμικὸν ἐκκλησίας, μὴ διδάσκων δὲ ποιεῖν ὅσα αὐτὸς ποιεῖ, οὐ κριθήσεται ἐφ' ὑμῶν· μετὰ Θεοῦ γὰρ ἔχει τὴν κρίσιν· ὡσαύτως γὰρ ἐποίησαν καὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι προφῆται.
10 Ὃς δ' ἂν εἴπῃ ἐν πνεύματι· Δός μοι ἀργύρια ἢ ἑτερά τινα, οὐκ ἀκούσεσθε αὐτοῦ· ἐὰν δὲ περὶ ἄλλων ὑστερούντων εἴπῃ δοῦναι, μηδεὶς αὐτὸν κρινέτω.

Κεφ. ιβ'. Πᾶς δὲ ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι Κυρίου δεχθήτω, ἔπειτα δὲ δοκιμάσαντες αὐτὸν γνώσεσθε· σύνεσιν γὰρ ἕξετε δεξιὰν καὶ ἀριστεράν. Εἰμὲν παρόδιός ἐστιν ὁ ἐρχόμενος, βοηθεῖτε αὐτῷ ὅσον
2 δύνασθε· οὐ μενεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰ μὴ δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, ἐὰν ᾖ
3 ἀνάγκη. Εἰ δὲ θέλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς καθῆσαι, τεχνίτης ὤν, ἐργαζέσθω καὶ φαγέτω· εἰ δὲ οὐκ ἔχει τέχνην, κατὰ τὴν σύνεσιν ὑμῶν προνοήσατε, πῶς μὴ ἀργὸς μθ' ὑμῶν ζήσεται χριστιανός.
4 Εἰ δ' οὐ θέλει οὕτω ποιεῖν, χριστέμπορός ἐστι· προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

Κεφ. ιγ'. Πᾶς δὲ προφήτης ἀληθινός, θέλων καθῆσαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
2 ἄξιός ἐστι τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ· Ὡσαύτως διδάσκαλος ἀληθινός
3 ἐστιν ἄξιος καὶ αὐτὸς ὥσπερ ὁ ἐργάτης, τῆς τροφῆς αὐτοῦ. Πᾶσαν οὖν ἀπαρχὴν γεννημάτων ληνοῦ καὶ ἅλωνος, βοῶν τε καὶ προβάτων λαβὼν δώσεις τοῖς προφήταις· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς
4,5 ὑμῶν. Ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἔχητε προφήτην, ὁότε τοῖς πτωχοῖς. Ἐὰν
6 σιτίαν ποιῇς, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν. Ὡσαύτως κεράμιον οἴνου ἢ ἐλαίου ἀνοίξας, τὴν ἀπαρχὴν λαβὼν δὸς

CHAP. XI. Whoever, then, shall come and teach all these things, the things aforesaid, receive him; but if the teacher himself turn and teach another doctrine to the destruction of *this*, do not hear him; but *if he teacheth* to the promotion of righteousness and knowledge of *the* Lord, receive him as *the* Lord.

2 And with reference to the apostles and prophets in accord-
3 ance with the ordinance of the gospel, act thus. And let every apostle that cometh to you be received as *the* Lord; but he shall remain, not one day, [only,] but, if there be need, the next
4 also; but if he remain three *days*, he is a false prophet. And let the apostle, when he goeth forth, take nothing except bread *to suffice* until he lodge; but if he ask money, he is a false prophet.
5 And no prophet that speaketh in *the* Spirit, shall ye try or judge; for every sin shall be forgiven, but this sin shall not
6 be forgiven. Not every one, however, that speaketh in *the* Spirit, is a prophet, but *only* if he have the ways of *the* Lord.
7 From their ways, then, shall the false prophet and the prophet
8 be known. And no prophet that in *the* Spirit commandeth a meal, will eat of it, else he is a false prophet; and every prophet that teacheth the truth, if he doeth not what he teach-
9 eth, is a false prophet. And no prophet, approved, true, acting with a view to the world-mystery of the Church, but not teaching *others* to do what he himself doeth, shall be judged in your presence; for with God he hath his judgment;
10 for in like manner did the ancient prophets also. But whoever in *the* Spirit shall say: Give me money, or something else, ye shall not hear him; but if he bid you give for others that are in want, let no one judge him.

CHAP. XII. And let every one that cometh in *the* name of *the* Lord be received, and afterward ye shall prove and know him;
2 for ye shall possess understanding right and left. If he that cometh is a traveler, help him as much as you can; however, he shall not remain with you, except for two or three days, if
3 need be. But if he wisheth to reside with you, being an artisan, let him work and eat; but if he hath not a trade, provide, according to your understanding, that, as a Christian, he shall
4 not live with you idle. But if he doth not wish so to do, he is one that maketh a gain of Christ: beware of such.

CHAP. XIII. But every true prophet that wisheth to reside with
2 you, is worthy of his food. In like manner a true teacher, himself also is worthy of his food, just as the workman.
3 Every first-fruit, then, of *the* products of wine-press and threshing-floor, of oxen and of sheep, thou shalt take and give to the prophets; for they are your high-priests.
4 But if ye have not a prophet, give to the poor.
5 If thou make a baking of bread, take and give the first-
6 fruit according to the commandment. In like manner, on opening a jar of wine or oil, take and give the first-fruit to

τοῖς προφήταις· ἀργυρίου δὲ καὶ ἱματισμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κτήματος λαβὼν τὴν ἀπαρχὴν ὡς ἂν σοι δόξῃ, δὸς κατὰ τὴν ἐντολήν.

Κεφ. ιδ'. Κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ Κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον καὶ εὐχαριστήσατε προσεξομολογησάμενοι τὰ παραπτώματα ὑμῶν, ὅπως
2 καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν ἦ. Πᾶς δὲ ἔχων τὴν ἀμφιβολίαν μετὰ τοῦ ἑταίρου αὐτοῦ μὴ συνελθέτω ὑμῖν, ἕως οὐ διαλλαγῶσιν, ἵνα μὴ κοινωθῇ ἡ θυσία ὑμῶν· αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ ῥηθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κυρίου·
3 Ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ καὶ χρόνῳ προσφέρειν μοι θυσίαν καθαράν· ὅτι βασιλεὺς μέγας εἰμί, λέγει Κύριος, καὶ τὸ ὄνομά μου θαυμαστὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι.

Κεφ. ιέ. Χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους ἀξίους τοῦ Κυρίου, ἄνδρας πραεῖς καὶ ἀφιλαργύρους καὶ ἀληθεῖς καὶ δεδοκιμασμένους· ὑμῖν γὰρ λειτουργοῦσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν λειτουρ-
2 γίαν τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων. Μὴ οὖν ὑπερίδητε αὐτούς· αὐτοὶ γάρ εἰσιν οἱ τετιμημένοι ὑμῶν μετὰ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.
3 Ἐλέγχετε δὲ ἀλλήλους μὴ ἐν ὀργῇ, ἀλλ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ· καὶ παντὶ ἀστοχοῦντι κατὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου μηδεὶς
4 λαλείτω μηδὲ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀκουέτω, ἕως οὐ μετανοήσῃ. Τὰς δὲ εὐχὰς ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς ἐλεημοσύνας καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις οὕτω ποιήσατε, ὡς ἔχετε ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν.

Κεφ. ις'. Γρηγορεῖτε ὑπὲρ τῆς ζωῆς ὑμῶν· οἱ λύχνοι ὑμῶν μὴ σβεσθήτωσαν, καὶ αἱ ὀσφύες ὑμῶν μὴ ἐκλυέσθωσαν, ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε
2 ἕτοιμοι· οὐ γὰρ οἴδατε τὴν ὥραν, ἐν ᾗ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν ἔρχεται.
Πυκνῶς δὲ συναχθήσεσθε ζητοῦντες τὰ ἀνήκοντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς
3 ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ὠφελήσει ὑμᾶς ὁ πᾶς χρόνος τῆς πίστεως ὑμῶν, ἐὰν μὴ ἐν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ καιρῷ τελειωθῆτε. Ἐν γὰρ ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἡμέραις πληθυνθήσονται οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται καὶ οἱ φθορεῖς καὶ στραφήσονται τὰ πρόβατα εἰς λύκους καὶ ἡ ἀγάπη στραφήσεται εἰς
μῖσος· αὐξανούσης γὰρ τῆς ἀνομίας, μισήσουσιν ἀλλήλους καὶ διώξουσι καὶ παραδώσουσι, καὶ τότε φανήσεται ὁ κοσμοπλάνος ὡς
4 υἱὸς Θεοῦ καὶ ποιήσει σημεῖα καὶ τέρατα, καὶ ἡ γῆ παραδοθήσεται εἰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ, καὶ ποιήσει ἀθέμιτα, ἃ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν ἐξ
5 αἰῶνος. Τότε ἥξει ἡ κτίσις τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰς τὴν πύρωσιν τῆς δοκιμασίας καὶ σκανδαλισθήσονται πολλοὶ καὶ ἀπολοῦνται, οἱ δὲ ὑπομείναντες ἐν τῇ πίστει αὐτῶν σωθήσονται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ κατα-
θέματος. Καὶ τότε φανήσεται τὰ σημεῖα τῆς ἀληθείας· πρῶτον, σημεῖον ἐκπετάσεως ἐν οὐρανῷ, εἶτα σημεῖον φωνῆς σάλπιγγος καὶ
6 τὸ τρίτον ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν· οὐ πάντων δέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐρρέθη· Ἥξει ὁ Κύριος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι μετ' αὐτοῦ. Τότε ὄψεται ὁ κόσμος τὸν Κύριον ἐρχόμενον ἐπάνω τῶν νεφελῶν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

the prophets; and of money and clothing and every possession, take the first-fruit, as it may seem good to thee, and give according to the commandment.

CHAP. XIV. And every Lord's Day gather yourselves together, and break bread and give thanks, after having also confessed your transgressions, that your sacrifice may be pure.

2 But let no one that is at variance with his fellow assemble with you, until they be reconciled, that your sacrifice may not
3 be profaned; For this is the one that was commanded by *the* Lord: In every place and time, offer Me a pure sacrifice; for I am a great King, saith *the* Lord, and my name is wonderful among the nations.

CHAP. XV. Choose, therefore, for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and free from the love of money, and true and proved; for they, too, render you the
2 service of the prophets and teachers. Do not, then, despise them; for together with the prophets and teachers, they are your honored ones.

3 And reprove one another, not in anger, but in peace, as ye have *it* in the gospel; and to every one that acteth amiss against another, let no one speak, and let him not hear from you until he repent.

4 But your prayers and alms and all deeds so do, as ye have *it* in the gospel of our Lord.

CHAP. XVI. Watch for [over] your life; let your lamps not be quenched, and your loins not be loosed, but be ye ready; for ye know not the hour in which our Lord cometh.

2 And ye shall often be gathered together seeking the things which become your souls; for the whole time of your faith will not profit you, if ye be not made perfect in the last time.

3 For in the last days the false prophets and the corrupters shall be multiplied, and the sheep shall be turned into wolves, and love shall be turned into hate; for as lawlessness increaseth, they shall hate one another, and persecute and betray, and then shall appear the world-deceiver as *the* Son of God, and shall do signs and wonders, and the earth shall be delivered into his hands, and he shall do iniquitous things which have never been done since *the* world *began*.

4 Then shall the human creation come into the fire of trial, and many shall be caused to stumble and shall perish; But they that endure in their faith shall be saved from under the curse itself.

5 And then shall appear the signs of the truth; first, *the* sign of an opening in heaven, then *the* sign of *the* sound of a trumpet, and third, *the* resurrection of *the* dead; not of all, however, but as was said: The Lord shall come, and all the
6 saints with Him. Then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.

## Art. VII. — THE CATHOLIC DOGMA OF CHURCH AUTHORITY.

There can be no doubt that the popular mind regards the Roman Catholic Church and religion as both degenerate and dangerous. The common people take short cuts to conclusions, always, of course, at the risk of doing injustice, but not seldom reaching right results. They form judgments of the various denominations, (except their own,) not by careful study of their systems of doctrine and government, but from public information and limited personal observation. Thus they describe Presbyterians as predestinarians, Baptists as immersionists, Methodists as revivalists. They think of the Universalists as holding to the salvation of sinner and saint alike, of the Unitarians as robbing Christ of his divinity and religion of its heart, and of the Roman Catholics as worshiping Mary and the saints, putting the pope in the place of Christ, and lodging the power to forgive sin in the priest. The Episcopal Church is to them a Church of forms and ceremonies, claiming closer kinship to the Roman than to the Protestant faith. None of these loose popular definitions would, of course, be acceptable to the denominations to which they are applied. They are inadequate; but they contain, it will be hardly disputed, a core of truth. We Methodists believe in revivals. We believe that our Church was raised up to offer salvation to the people; but our system is much more to us than a series of camp-meetings or special revival efforts. So the popular judgment of Romanism is, doubtless, an injustice in some respects; but that Catholic teaching seems to involve the errors thus attributed to it is not to be denied. The question as to how far that Church is responsible for wrong impressions as to its doctrine and practice is a question to be settled in full view of its aims and claims as a Christian Church. It claims to be holy, apostolic, universal, and united, and aims to embrace all mankind within its pale, outside of which there is no salvation. It also claims to be infallible as a teacher of divine truth. If, therefore, it so presents and teaches and appropriates the doctrines of salvation that the common people outside

its communion derive inferences as to its character which it is not willing to accept, there must be some grave fault in the system, or in the practice or presentation of it. A divine religion intended for all must be adapted to all, and must show its credentials in its life and teaching. But allowance must be made for prejudices of education. These prejudices exist, not alone against the Roman Catholic Church, but against all denominations. They have borne, they still bear, strongly against Methodism. But our place in evangelical Christianity is not misapprehended, and the general character of our teaching is not misunderstood. We may be justly chargeable from other stand-points with putting too much stress on this doctrine or too little on that; but we are not accused of holding views repugnant to the common mind of Christianity or to the word of God. It would be unfair to set up the popular judgment against the philosophical basis of any system. Public opinion is not a competent jury in matters requiring research and scholarship; but it is well qualified to weigh and compare results and make deductions from them. Much weight is therefore to be attached to the common verdict against Romanism.

Those who have studied with candid mind the Roman Catholic system are much slower to pronounce an unqualified judgment against it. It is seen to possess many and important features in common with evangelical Christianity; much that is sound and good with the unsound and the false; and charity inclines to magnify what is favorable and underestimate what is unfavorable. It is hard to reach a strictly impartial result. If the object be to ascertain in how many points the Catholic agrees with the Protestant or scriptural system, or how much it differs, the showing in either case will be formidable, and the real truth will perhaps lie between the two extremes. The difficulty which a scholarly and judicial mind meets in studying the life and teaching of the Church of Rome, is not alone in the effort to hold the balance with blind impartiality, but in ascertaining the real character of the practical teaching in diocese and congregation. Catholic preachers are not in the habit of publishing their discourses. Here and there a distinguished prelate or priest, famed for his eloquence, gives to the Catholic people a volume of sermons; but the list of American

Catholic books will be searched in vain for more than a dozen such publications, most of which are not of the present age, and cannot be taken as representative. The chief reason for this scarcity of modern Catholic sermon literature is, doubtless, to be found in the fact that in Catholic services the sermon holds a very subordinate place. "It may or may not form part of the exercises of public worship," we are told by an eminent authority, "according to the occasion and its attendant circumstances. It is less important, and felt to be so by both clergy and people, than visiting the sick, hearing of confessions, administering the sacraments, (not to speak of the offering up of the holy sacrifice of the mass,) which, more imperative duties, necessarily occupy the larger part of the time of Catholic priests."* Nor is there any theological literature, in the proper sense, for the Catholic layman. There is an abundance of Catechisms for the neophyte, a long list of books of devotion, and a copious Catholic story literature, but theology and theological discussion are in the ecclesiastical tongue and for the priests, who do not generally venture, as is the custom of Protestant ministers, to discuss doctrinal subjects for the benefit of the people. How the body of priests understand and teach Catholic doctrine the inquirer cannot, therefore, from these sources, undertake to show exhaustively. There is such a thing as a consensus of Catholic teaching and practice in every country as shown in the spirit of the Church, in the character of priest and layman, in the attitude toward moral, political, educational, and religious questions, in discussions in the Catholic press, and in other ways, which impress the non-Catholic mind; but there is another line of investigation which lies open to every candid and intelligent mind, and cannot, it would seem, fail to reward the investigator with valuable and trustworthy results. It enters into the heart of the system, and taking up the great dogma of Church authority, shows what its bearings are upon the spirit, character, and teachings of the Church. This is the task now proposed, candidly and conscientiously, to be undertaken.

It must, of course, be conceded that the Church of Rome expresses in its symbols and decrees much of the doctrinal

* "American Catholic Quarterly Review," editorial department, p. 752, October, 1881.

truth of Christianity. The Apostles' Creed, which many Protestants deem a sufficient summary to serve as a test of Christian fellowship, is in constant use in Catholic services. The doctrines of the nature, power, and attributes of God, of the persons of the Trinity, of the fall of man, of the inspiration of the Scriptures, of the final destiny of saint and sinner, are hardly ground of dispute between Roman and Protestant Christians. There is much more in belief and practice which is held in common, and much on which the differences do not appear irreconcilable; but there is, nevertheless, a chasm between the two systems which refuses to be bridged. They are as different in spirit, character, and results as are the governments and peoples of Russia and those of the United States. Both countries agree in recognizing the truth that mankind needs governing; but as to the source, character, and application of the governing authority they are at wide variance. Catholicism and Protestantism agree that all men are sinners who may and ought to be saved; but as to the method and means of salvation they are hopelessly divided. The Romanist conception of the kingdom of God which Christ came to establish on earth is not that it is an inward life, born of the Holy Spirit and nourished by divine grace, whose outward manifestation is a godly walk and the fellowship of unity; * but rather that it is a visible human organism endowed with the power of producing and controlling a spiritual life. Not only has God put into the hands of the Roman Communion, which comprehends all there is of the glorious kingdom on earth, the work of saving mankind, but he has placed in its keeping and control the treasures of grace, † so that when it chooses to confer its ordinances or to withhold them it confers or withholds

* The great German theologian's idea of the Church is: "The Church first came into existence with Pentecost. . . . Certainly the entire body of disciples had already an outward center in His person, and his design was that the Church should grow out of that body; but such a Church did not as yet exist before the Holy Spirit had prepared and collected a mature discipleship. The Church is called the temple of the Holy Ghost, consisting of living stones, bearing Christ's life in them; that is, personalities."—Dorner's "System of Christian Doctrine," vol. iv, pp. 345, 346.

† "According to Catholics the recognition of and submission to the visible Church is the ordained means of sharing in the invisible treasures of grace."—"Catholic Dictionary," London and New York, 1884, p. 168. This new and important work is severely criticised for its liberal Catholicism.

saving grace. Let us see if this is not a true statement of their teaching.

Baptism as one of the ordinances committed to the one true Church, the Church of Rome,* is "necessary for all."† It "is as essential for the infant as for the full-grown man, in order to attain the kingdom of heaven."‡ The only exceptions admitted are when an unbaptized person has a desire without opportunity for the ordinance, which is the baptism of desire, or lays down his life for Christ, which is the baptism of blood.§ Obviously, infants are not included in either of these classes. To them God cannot extend his grace, because the ministry of the Church has not reached them. "Is not that," Archbishop Gibbons asks, "a cruel and heartless doctrine which excludes from heaven so many harmless babes that have never committed any fault? To this I reply, Has not God declared that baptism is necessary to all?" The Council of Trent in Canon VII pronounces its *anathema sit* against all those who say that "grace, as far as God's part is concerned, is not given through the said sacraments *always and to all men*, [my italics] even though they receive them rightly, but only sometimes and to some persons."‖ The previous canon lays down the doctrine that the sacraments are not simply outward signs of grace received through faith, but confer the grace they signify on all persons "who do not place an obstacle thereunto;" while Canon VIII anathematizes those who deny that grace is "conferred through the act

* "Butler's Catechism," as "revised by the four Roman Catholic Archbishops of Ireland," pp. 22–24.

† Chapter IV of the Canons of Trent says that the change from death to life, "since the promulgation of the Gospel, cannot be effected without the laver of regeneration or the desire thereof."—Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," vol. ii, p. 91. "Butler's Catechism" also says:

"*Q.* Is baptism necessary to salvation?

"*A.* Yes; without it one cannot enter into the kingdom of God.

"*Q.* Who are appointed by Christ to give baptism?

"*A.* The pastors of his Church; but in case of necessity any layman or woman can give it."—P. 46.

‡ "The Faith of our Fathers." By Archbishop Gibbons. John Murphy & Co., Baltimore. 1884. P. 311.

§ Cyprian held, however, that martyrdom outside the Church is not only not meritorious, but rather an aggravation of sin. Hagenbach, vol. i, p. 275.

‖ "Creeds of Christendom," vol. ii, p. 121.

performed." Pope Eugenius IV. held that the sacraments are effected by the things which stand for the matter, by the words which stand for the form, and by the person of the minister, and that if "any one of these three things be wanting, there is no sacrament."* Having by divine authority been invested with the exclusive power of granting the sacraments by which alone the soul can make its way to heaven, it follows that the Church of Rome, as the only true Church on earth, has in its hands the eternal destiny of all mankind.†

The dogma of the supreme authority of the Church is the key to the Catholic system and the cause of its wide variance from the faith and spirit of the Gospel. It would, as every intelligent mind must admit, avail a sinful world but little if Christ had accomplished the work of atonement at the cost of his incarnation, sufferings, and death, and had placed its benefits in the keeping of a power that might withhold or confer them according to a fallible will and an imperfect understanding on its own code of conditions to the recipient. He did, indeed, indicate a prerequisite to the enjoyment of these benefits—a desire to be saved—but he did not commit to fallible human judgment the prerogative of deciding when and to whom the regenerating grace should be imparted. This dogma was of gradual growth. It began with the assumptions of the bishop, developed along with the papacy unto its present tremendous proportions, and has struck its rootlets into every particle of Catholic theological soil. It will be necessary to get a full understanding of its scope and bearings in order to proceed to the accomplishment of the purpose sought in this article. Moehler, who was a very moderate Catholic, and who was criticised for his concessions, gives this definition of the Church:

By the Church on earth Catholics understand the visible community of believers founded by Christ, in which, by means of

* "Catholic Dictionary," p. 736.

† "*Professio Fidei Tridentinæ.*" The "Catholic faith, without which no one can be saved." *Catholicam fidem, extra quam nemo salvus esse potest.* "Creeds of Christendom," vol. ii, p. 210. Also Cardinal Newman in "Answer to Gladstone," p. 159. "No Catholic ever thinks of disputing" the dogma that "out of the Catholic Church and out of the faith there is no salvation." All the popes, bishops, and doctors, he adds, have proclaimed it. Pius IX. excepted, however, those who "lie under invincible ignorance."

an enduring apostleship established by him, and appointed to conduct all nations, in the course of the ages, back to God, the works wrought by him during his earthly life for the redemption and sanctification of mankind are, under the guidance of his Spirit, continued to the end of the world.*

He goes on to show that as God, in planning the redemptive work, chose to send his Word in incarnate, visible form to men, so the doctrine which that Incarnate Word established needed a visible, human medium to declare it; hence the organization of the Church in which Christ continues to live and his Spirit to work. "Thus the visible Church, from the point of view here taken, is the Son of God himself, everlastingly manifesting himself among men in a human form." And as he represented in himself both divinity and humanity, so also is his Church both human and divine; but if the divine "constitute undoubtedly that which is infallible and eternally inerrable in the Church, so also the human is infallible and inerrable in the same way." † The "administration of the sacraments, as well as the preaching of the Word, was intrusted by the Lord to the apostolic college, and to those commissioned by it, so that all believers by means of this apostolic college are linked to the community, and in a living manner connected with it."

The Church, in the Catholic point of view, can as little fail in the pure preservation of the Word as in any other part of her task; she is infallible. As the individual worshiper of Christ is incorporated into the Church by indissoluble bonds, and is by the same conducted unto the Saviour, and abideth in him only in so far as he abideth in the Church, his faith and his conduct are determined by the latter. He must bestow his whole confidence on her; and she must therefore merit the same. ‡

It is therefore necessary, he continues, that she should be inerrable. "To no individual, considered as such, doth infallibility belong," for the individual is only a member of the whole, "living and breathing in the Church. When his feelings, thought, and will are conformable to her spirit, then only can the individual attain to inerrability." If Christ is to be a "true determining authority," the "authority of the Church is necessary," and "Christ himself is only in so far an authority

* "Moehler's "Symbolism." New York: Catholic Publication House. Third edition, p. 253. † *Ibid.*, p. 254. ‡ *Ibid*, p. 261.

as the Church is an authority." "If the Church be not the authority representing Christ, then all again relapses into darkness, uncertainty, doubt, distraction, unbelief, and superstition; revelation becomes null and void, fails of its real purpose, and must henceforth be even called in question, and finally denied."

The Catholic doctrine of the Church, then, is:

1. It is infallible and inerrant.

2. It is infallible and inerrant in both its divine and human elements.

3. It has all ecclesiastical and spiritual power in earth.*

4. God deals with mankind through it alone, and Christ is authority only in so far as it is authority.

5. The believer can abide in Christ only in so far as Christ abides in the Church.

6. The faith and conduct of the believer are determined by the Church.

7. Without the authority of the Church revelation is null and void.

8. This divine, infallible, inerrant, universal, and perpetual authority is the Church of Rome.†

9. Those not subject to the pope, the head of the Church of Rome, are not in the Church of Christ.‡

* The Church is vested *jure divino* with power to make laws, to define and apply them, to punish those who violate them. The punishments inflicted by the Church in exercising her coercive power are chiefly spiritual, namely—excommunication, suspension, and interdict, but she can "inflict temporal, and even corporal, punishments." Thus, according to Cardinal Tarquini, the pope and ecumenical councils have the power to inflict the death penalty, at least by requiring a Catholic ruler to impose it; and "that they cannot directly exercise this power cannot be proved." "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law." By S. B. Smith, D.D. New York: Benziger Brothers, 1883, p. 89. This volume was revised under the direction of Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect of the Propaganda, and approved by Cardinal M'Closkey and a great number of prelates.

† "We must either give up the belief in the Church as a divine institution altogether, or we must recognize it as that communion of which the pope is the head."—Newman, in "Answer to Gladstone" p. 34.

‡ "We declare, affirm, define, and pronounce it to be necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."—Pope Boniface VIII., in *Unam Sanctum*, which bull Cardinal Manning says was undoubtedly an infallible utterance. See Manning's "Vatican Decrees." New York: Catholic Publication Society, 1875, p. 57. Cardinal Newman, in "Answer to Gladstone," p. 35, says: "We should not believe in the Church at all unless we believed in its visible head."

But how is this infallibility and inerrancy and authority to be manifested? By the teaching power of the Church. First, in the pope, as the head of the visible, infallible, and inerrant Church, "who has no rival in his claim upon" the faithful.* "As God has sovereignty, though he may be disowned or disobeyed, so has his vicar on earth." † The primacy of jurisdiction over the universal Church of God was directly given by Christ to Peter, who "received the keys of the kingdom from our Lord Jesus Christ, . . . and lives, presides, and judges to this day and always, in his successors, the Bishop of the Holy See of Rome." "When in the discharge of the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals," ‡ he is infallible; and both "pastors and faithful, individually and collectively, are bound . . . to submit, not only in matters which belong to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the Church," and from this "no one can deviate without loss of faith and of salvation." § Second, in the pope and the bishops throughout the world, who, "in the ordinary performance of their duty and without formally concerting together, may teach [infallibly] certain truths to the body of the Church as of divine faith." ‖ The bishops are divinely instituted, and are collectively the successors of the college of the apostles and to their governing power. They belong to the divine and unalterable constitution of the Church.¶ Third, this authority of the Church is exercised through the priest who has power to confer regenerating grace,** to forgive sins,†† and to change bread and wine

* Cardinal Newman, "Answer to Gladstone," p. 52. Also "Catholic Dictionary." "None who are not in communion with him are Catholics at all." —P. 177.

† *Ibid.*, p. 49.

‡ There is also an infallibility exercised in condemning erroneous books or doctrine, and in the canonization of saints. "Catholic Dictionary," p. 178.

§ "Vatican Decrees." See Schaff's "Creeds of Christendom," pp. 256–271.

‖ "Catholic Dictionary," p. 177.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

** "He has empowered the priests of the New Law to impart the grace of regeneration in baptism." They are "the dispensers of his graces and the almoners of his mercy."—"The Faith of our Fathers," pp. 443, 444.

†† "To them also he gave power to forgive sins." They "can release the soul from the prison of sin and restore it to the liberty of a child of God."—*Ibid.*, p. 444. "As judge of souls, he must know when to bind and when to loose; when to defer and when to pronounce sentence of absolution."—P. 450.

into the body and blood of the Lord Jesus Christ.* "He, as successor of the apostles, "is clothed with their power," and "exercises power not given even to angels."† This would seem to imply that he is infallible also, though this is not directly claimed for him. But infallibility, according to some authorities, goes below the priest. The "faithful cannot err in what they believe, because the same Holy Spirit which enables them to believe what their pastors teach provides that these pastors shall teach the truth with unerring voice."‡ This is a logical conclusion, whether it has been defined by the Church or not.

The claims and authority of the Church being so sweeping, it follows logically that all men must obey her voice, and this is the Catholic doctrine. Cardinal Manning says the command of Christ to the apostles—"Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature"—"clearly invests the Church with authority to baptize every creature," though this "absolute and universal authority" "depends upon the free and voluntary act of those who believe."§ Christ not only gave this power to his apostles, but he commanded, "under the most severe penalties, those to whom they preach to listen and obey." Their hearers, therefore, "are obliged to listen with docility, and to obey, not merely by external compliance, but also by an internal assent of the intellect."‖

Such is the doctrine of the authority of the Church of Rome. It is a vast and awful absolutism, not only proposing to strip all mankind of liberty of conscience, intellect, and

* Christ is "bid, morning by morning, by their word, to be present upon the altar." "The Eternal Priesthood." By Cardinal Manning. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co., 1883, p. 21. Also "Butler's Catechism," p. 49:

"*Q.* By whom are the bread and wine changed into the body and blood of Christ?

"*A.* By the priest; but in virtue of the words of Christ, whose person the priest represents at the awful moment of consecration."

† "The Faith of our Fathers," p. 441.

‡ "Catholic Dictionary," p. 177. § "The Vatican Decrees," p. 80.

‖ "The Faith of our Fathers," pp. 88, 89. Also "Elements of Ecclesiastical Law," p. 81. "Now every person in the world is bound to obey the Church in matters pertaining to the *sanctificatio animarum*." Mgr. Capel, in the "Nineteenth Century" for April, 1880, says: "To doubt willfully any one article of faith, or to enter on the examination of any dogma with the intention of suspending belief until the conclusion of such examination, would be for a Catholic a deadly sin."

worship, but even presuming to rob God in heaven of his prerogatives in the salvation of men. Its claim of infallibility and authority is only a blasphemous invention; its pretended power to confer the grace of regeneration and to forgive sin is a wicked usurpation of divine authority.* its worship of bread and wine and its prayers to the Virgin Mary and the saints are idolatry;† and its pretense that the *ecclesia docens* cannot teach error in faith or morals involves the awful assumption that sinful men are equal to God in some of his attributes.

Such a system seems far enough from the true religion of Christ and the teaching and spirit of the New Testament. And yet it claims to be in entire accord with the Scriptures as infallibly interpreted, though it was not founded thereon,‡ but by Christ and his apostles before the gospels were committed to writing, in order that there might be an authority to decide, without possibility of error, what Scripture is divinely inspired, and what is the true interpretation thereof. There is in this, and indeed in most of the doctrines held by the Church of Rome, a germ of truth. There was a Christian community before there was a written word. The apostles built on the spoken word, and, by divine guidance, gave it to the world in the gospels and epistles; but what does not appear is that to this community as an ecclesiastical organism was given supreme and infallible authority to perpetuate the spoken, and to define and distinguish the written, word.§ The Acts and the epistles do not indicate a sacramental and sacerdotal ecclesiasticism; nor does the recently discovered sub-apostolic document, the "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," give it any support. On the

* Father Curci, who is still a Roman priest, in his "*Il Vaticano Regio*," (1883.) asks the Church "to replace Jesus Christ in the chief place which belongs to him in the conscience, the love, and the hopes of the Christian peoples." He laments the neglect of the Redeemer in Roman Catholic preaching and teaching, and the multiplication of "new saints, new madonnas, new miracles, and new revelations," and declares that "if this overwhelming number of saints and madonnas is to obliterate Jesus Christ" from his mind, then he will thrust them from him and "cling only to Jesus." See "British Quarterly Review," for April, 1884.

† The attributing of a "divine nature to purely human things" is "idolatry."—*Ibid.*

‡ The Church was "not founded by Holy Writ, but already existed before its several parts appeared."—Mochler's "Symbolism," p. 290.

§ It is pretended that the apostles transmitted the canon of Scripture, as defined by the Council of Trent, to the Church, which preserved it by tradition and infallibly declared it. "Symbolism," p. 287.

contrary, it shows that down to the close of the first century or the first third of the second century there was nothing in the nature of a hierarchy, no priestly office or prerogative, and no sacramentalism. The Roman doctrine of Church authority developed in a later age* with the evolution, from the simplicity of apostolic usages, of a hierarchy, and is like a pyramid standing on its apex, the last and largest deposit on the upturned base being papal infallibility.†

The whole Roman system is a logical necessity of this dogma of authority, which became dominant when councils began to enforce their decrees with the damnatory phrase, "*Anathema sit.*" One of the earliest necessities which this developing principle of absolutism imposed on the Church was the control of the text, the interpretation, and the use of the Bible. The free and independent study of the Bible, even by the priesthood, would have led to doubt and defection, and if appeal to the Book whose author is God, as the Church itself taught, had been allowed, a higher authority than the Church would have been recognized. The exaltation of tradition was a powerful means of supporting the Church's claim. To take the position that the Bible was only a part of God's revelation, that the unwritten part was of equal if not greater importance,‡ and that this deposit of faith was solely with the Church, was part of her consciousness,§ and could therefore only be known

* Dr. Edwin Hatch, Bampton lecturer in 1880, on "The Organization of the Early Christian Churches," in an article in the June (1884) "Contemporary Review," discussing the claim of the Anglican sacerdotal party that they are reviving the pre-Constantinian Church, says if this could be done fully, not only would the Church of England lose its wealth, its crown provinces, and its lay tribunals, "it would cease to be a single body, and would be only a mass of congregations which might or might not agree to act together; it would have neither parishes nor provinces nor metropolitans; it would have no common rules of discipline, nor common order of ritual; and, what is far more important, not having any common formula of belief, the officers of its communities would have to meet again in assembly, as the officers of the communities of the fourth century met at Nicæa, to agree upon a creed."

† "It would of course be a monstrous anachronism were we to attribute a belief in papal infallibility to the ante-Nicene fathers. Our contention simply is that the *modern* doctrine on papal power is the logical outcome of patristic principles."—"Catholic Dictionary," p. 674.

‡ Catholics affirm an "unwritten word of God over and above Scripture." —"Catholic Dictionary," p. 80.

§ "Symbolism," p. 286, 287.

as the Church authoritatively imparted it—was to place in the way of independent investigation an insuperable difficulty. The Bible must not be put in general circulation. This was not the doctrine of the fathers,* but it occurred to the popes of the Middle Ages that the Waldensian and other rebellions against the authority of the Church were caused by the study of the Bible and they laid interdicts against it.† "It is only surprising," a Catholic authority‡ naïvely tells us, "that any rational being could have thought it possible for the Holy See to assume any other attitude."

The denial of the Bible to the laity involves the proposition, that it is not necessary for them to read the word of God. Pope Clement XI. condemned the notion that the "reading of Scripture is for all,"§ and numerous authorities, even as late as the "Catholic Dictionary," support his view. "Butler's Catechism" says the clergy are required to read the Scriptures, "but there is no such general obligation incumbent on the laity, it being sufficient that they listen to it from their pastors." In answer to the question whether it is "lawful for the laity to read the Holy Scriptures," it says:

> They may read them in the language in which they were written, as likewise in the ancient Vulgate Translation, which the Church vouches to be authentic. They may also read them in approved modern versions; but with due submission to the interpretation and authority of the Church.

"Numberless heresies and impieties," it goes on to say, "as also many rebellions and civil wars," have resulted from "an unrestricted reading of the Bible in the vulgar languages, by the unlearned and the unstable." Archbishop Gibbons boldly declares that Christ did not intend the Bible to be disseminated, but that the Gospel should be promulgated by preaching

* "In early times the Bible was read freely by the lay people, and the fathers constantly encouraged them to do so, although they also insist on the obscurity of the text. No prohibitions were issued against the popular reading of the Bible." —"Catholic Dictionary," p. 82.

† "The Councils of Toulouse (1229) and Tarragona (1234) forbade the laity to read the vernacular translations of the Bible. Pius IV. required the bishops to refuse lay persons leave to read even Catholic versions," and Leo XII., Pius VIII., and Pius IX. in the present century, have warned Catholics against Protestant Bibles.—*Ibid.*

‡ "Catholic Dictionary," p. 82.

§ *Ibid.*

alone.* He also holds, in common with other Catholic doctors, that the Bible "does not contain all the truths necessary to salvation." †

How completely the word of God is subordinated to the authority of the Church, is indicated by the remark of Augustine: "I would not believe the Gospel, if the authority of the Church did not move me thereto." According to Moehler,‡ Catholic theologians hold "that even a scriptural proof in favor of a decree held to be infallible is not itself infallible, but only the dogma as defined," by which he means that only what the Church definitely declares infallible is so to be held, that is, the Church's sense of Scripture. The Church alone, therefore, can interpret Scripture: "No one can appeal either to Scripture or to history against her definition without making shipwreck of the faith and forfeiting the name of Catholic by the very act." § No intellectual or historical difficulty is to prevent the acceptance of the Church's definition. When she declares the dogma of the Immaculate Conception every Catholic is bound, not only to accept it, ‖ but to believe that it was revealed to the apostles and "preserved in the deposit of faith, as contained in Scripture and tradition." ¶

Such is the bearing of the dogma of Church authority on the word of God. A human institution subordinates to its fallible judgment the infallible revelation of the Lord Almighty. The divine light, which shines clear and free from the pages of Holy Writ direct to the waiting individual heart, Rome dares to intercept and transmit through an imperfect medium which distorts its rays and quenches their illuminating power and makes them fallible and false. Can it for a moment be regarded as reasonable, or possible, that God should give, through divine inspiration, the law of life and death, and not intend that every soul should have free access to it? Were

* "Faith of our Fathers," p. 101, also index. † *Ibid.*, p. 111.

‡ "Symbolism," p. 230. § "Catholic Dictionary," p. 178.

‖ "We cannot be real Catholics if we do not, from our heart, accept the matters which she [the Church] puts forward as divine and true."—Cardinal Newman, in "Nineteenth Century," for Feb., 1884.

¶ "Catholic Dictionary," p. 177. Aizog ("Church History," Cincinnati, Robert Clarke & Co., 1874, vol. i. p. 362.) says: "Tradition, being the only *adequate exponent of the doctrine of Christ*, [his italics,] is, therefore, the only competent and legitimate interpreter of the Scriptures."

Christ's words addressed to a hierarchy, and not to universal humanity? Could the common people who heard him gladly understand nothing of his words? Is the Gospel, which was meant to be "good tidings" to all, addressed only to the understanding of learned ecclesiastics? These questions can be answered affirmatively only by changing the character of the Bible, robbing it of its simplicity as a revelation, and reading into its text thoughts which God never inspired. The truths of the Bible comes as a bright light into the sin-darkened soul, and can be as certainly appreciated and enjoyed as the light of the sun. "The argument to the contrary," says Dr. Hodge,* "is an insult to the understanding of the whole world of Bible readers."

On the basis of its authority over the Scriptures and over the faith of believers, the Church assumes to bar the way to salvation, except on the conditions which it lays down. How terrible from the Catholic point of view the interdicts which the infallible popes so frequently laid on whole nations, shutting them out of heaven and permitting them, despite their cry for the saving ordinances of the Church, to be swept into hell, because of the crime or contumacy of prince or king! It puts its own construction on the doctrines of grace, and claims that God has committed the means of grace to its custody, and cannot, or does not, regenerate, sanctify, and save, except through its ministry. The only door into the Church is by baptism, the only way to heaven is by the Church. This ordinance is the visible means of an invisible regeneration, and remits all sin, original and actual, and all penalties due for sin, "bestows sanctifying grace and infused virtues," imprints an indelible mark or character on the soul, and makes the recipient a member of Christ.† This result must invariably follow in infants who cannot put a bar in the way of sacramental grace: and all adults receive the "character" if they simply submit to the ordinance, even without attrition for sin, and may subsequently receive all the graces by supplying "the requisite dispositions."‡ No one who studies the Scriptures, free from the shackles of Church authority and constrained interpretation, finds such a doctrine of regeneration taught in them. We do not read that Christ said, "Come unto *the visible Church*, all ye that labor

* "Outlines of Theology." New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1879, p. 86.
† "Catholic Dictionary," p. 62. ‡ *Ibid.*

and are heavy laden, and ye shall find rest *in the ordinance of baptism;*" nor "All that the Father giveth me shall come to *the Church;* and him that cometh unto *the Church* shall not be cast out;" nor "Ask of *the Church*, and it shall be given you;" nor "Behold I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and *receiveth the baptism at the hands of the Church*," etc. Nor do we read in Acts that "Whosoever shall *receive the baptism of the Church* shall be saved." The reply of Catholic theologians to this would doubtless be, in the words of Moehler, (quoted on page 725,) that the "visible Church is the Son of God himself." By such ingenious methods do they make the garment of Church authority cover all difficulties and doubts.

The believer having entered on the Christian life by baptismal regeneration must, the Church teaches, prepare for the sacrament of confirmation, which can only be imparted by the bishop, and which, worthily received, that is, by those not in a state of mortal sin, "makes strong and perfect Christians." The Church has also instituted the sacrament of penance, by which the priest forgives the sins committed after baptism, whether they be mortal or venial. The individual makes confession to the priest of all his sins, and the latter as a "judge whose office it is to pass sentence of pardon," * imposes certain exercises or good offices as a satisfaction for them. This penance enjoined by the priest, who can "discern between sin and sin," having for this purpose the "science of God," of the saints, and of self-knowledge,† may not always be sufficient to satisfy for the sins committed, wherefore what is "wanting may be supplied by indulgences and our own penitential endeavors," which "release from canonical penance" enjoined by the Church, and "also remit the temporary punishments with which God often visits our sins, and which must be suffered in this life or the next, unless canceled by indulgences, by act of penance, or other good works." ‡ Of the other sacraments, except the eucharist, it is not necessary to speak.

* "The Faith of our Fathers," p. 445. Cardinal Manning (in "The Eternal Priesthood") says: "Each bishop, in his throne surrounded by his priests, judicially binding or loosing the souls of men, by the power of the keys, is the judge of arbitration to avert the judgment of the last day."—P. 31.

† "The Eternal Priesthood," p. 31. ‡ "Butler's Catechism," p. 53.

Suffice it to say, that they are intended to provide all needful graces in life, the priest or the bishop being the indispensable instrument. It is not needful to show, even to a cursory reader of the Scriptures, how little in harmony all this is with God's teaching. "If we confess our sins, he [Christ, not the priest] is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." * But, it may be asked, does not the Catholic Church admit that private confession is permissible? Archbishop Gibbons says:

> Forgiveness of sin is ordinarily to be obtained only through the ministry of the apostles and their successors, just as it was from them that the people were to receive the word of God and baptism. The pardoning power was a great prerogative conferred on the apostles. But what kind of a prerogative would it be if people could always obtain forgiveness by confessing to God secretly in their rooms? How few would have recourse to the apostles if they could obtain forgiveness on easier terms! †

The doctrine of the mass is another perversion of scriptural teaching and a necessity of the dogma of Church authority. No other feature of the Roman system is better understood than this, and I need not stop to explain it. It is held to confer grace in common with the other sacraments, *ex opere operato*. In effect it is a species of idolatry, supreme adoration being paid to a circular piece of bread under the delusion that it is Christ, that it becomes so at the command of the celebrant, and that it must ever remain so. This monstrous idea leads to the observance of minute rules with regard to the handling and reception of the bread and wine, which seem, to the really reverent, shocking in their gross significance, and a degradation of a spiritual ‡ act of deep import.§ Christ said as oft as ye do this do it in *remembrance* of me; but Catholics

* 1 John i. 9. † "The Faith of our Fathers," p. 392.

‡ Canon VIII of the Council of Trent says: "If any one saith that Christ, given in the eucharist, is eaten spiritually only, and not also sacramentally and really, let him be anathema."

§ The "Short Catechism," Baltimore, tells the communicant how to hold the mouth and lips, and adds: "We should not be disturbed if the host adhere to the palate, but should endeavor to loosen it gently with the tongue, and by no means to touch it with our fingers. It is also proper not to spit for some minutes after communion." The Roman missal tells what is to be done in case the Lord's Supper is disgorged.

offer it as a sacrifice to God. Their catechisms speak of it as "continuing the bloody sacrifice of the cross," offered, among other reasons, in "order to obtain pardon for our sins," and the Canons of Trent are most explicit on this point. They deny that it is simply a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or a commemoration of the sacrifice on the cross, and assert that it is a "propitiatory sacrifice," to be offered for the living and for the dead, "for sins, punishments, satisfactions, and other necessities of the faithful." This affects in a very important way the great doctrine of the atonement, which, soteriologically, is set forth both in Protestant and Catholic symbols without essential differences. But the Catholic doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass and of penance implies—nay, it logically compels—the belief that the sacrifice of the cross was an incomplete atonement. Moehler's discussion * of this subject comprehends Christ's ministry, sufferings, and "perpetual condescension" in the eucharist in one great sacrificial act in expiation of our sins, "consisting, indeed, of various individual parts; yet so that none by itself is, strictly speaking, the sacrifice." Therefore without the sacrifice of the mass "the other parts would not have sufficed for our complete atonement." Nevertheless, the sacrifice of the cross yields, as they hold, a superabundance of merits which constitute a treasury whose riches are available to the Church, and which is increased by the supererogatory works of the saints and others of the faithful. Human ingenuity cannot go farther, nor could it more signally defeat itself. Holy Writ leaves no possible doubt that the sacrifice of the cross, "once offered," cannot and hath no need to be repeated, "for by one offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified," and "there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins." † The dogma of the authority of the Church, however, requires such perversions of truth to establish and maintain its tyranny over conscience. If the Church admitted that grace could be obtained except through its channels, or that the atonement made for all mankind was so far completed on Calvary that all, without the Church's sacrifice and agency, are free to embrace its benefits, it would not, indeed, make itself unnecessary, but it would abdicate its claim to supreme and exclusive authority.

* "Symbolism," p. 232. † Hebrews x, 14, 26.

There is much to be commended in the zeal which Catholics show in devotion. They are exhorted to meditation and prayer at all hours and in all places, and nothing is more common than the use of the beads and other aids to devotion. The Catholic, however, does not hold that prayer is either the chief act of worship or the chief means of grace. The "one worship really worthy of him [God] is the sacrifice of the mass," * and "the sacraments are the most powerful means of grace." † But we will not dwell on this error, which not a few nominal Protestants accept as truth. It is far more important to consider how generally prayer has become in Catholic usage a machine performance, and how small a proportion of it is addressed directly to God. Prayer is among the good works enjoined in penance, and often among the conditions on which indulgences are granted. The saying of the Lord's Prayer and the Hail Mary, or prayer to the Virgin, a certain number of times constitutes an act of piety with merits attached. The rosary, which is intended to be to the faithful what the breviary is to the priesthood, is an incontestable proof of the value attached to the "saying" of these prayers in repetition. For every ten small beads on a rosary there is one large bead, and for every bead there is a prayer: the "Hail Mary" for each small bead, and the Lord's Prayer for each large one. Every full rosary means a hundred and fifty repetitions of the prayer to the Virgin, and fifteen repetitions of the Lord's Prayer. In how many cases such performances are "vain repetitions," which our Lord condemned, it is not necessary or desirable to inquire; but the tendency of the teaching that God is pleased and real merits are acquired thereby must be to degrade the highest and holiest form of spiritual communion with God to a formal, mechanical exercise. "True worshipers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth; for the Father seeketh such to worship him." ‡ This degradation of the lofty spirit and character of prayer is made painfully evident in the manuals and devotional books which fill so large a place in Catholic literature. There are books of devotion to St. Joseph, to the Blessed Virgin, to the "Holy Face;" and manuals of the "Holy Name," the "Immaculate Heart of Mary," "Our Lady of Perpetual Help," the "Sacred Heart,"

* "Catholic Dict.," p. 175. † "Butler's Catechism," p. 45. ‡ John iv, 23.

the "Child Jesus," the "Holy Angels," of the "Confraternity of the Sacred Thirst and Agony of Jesus," of "Our Lady of Lourdes," and so on. The grossest conceptions would appear to underlie such forms of devotion. The natural tendency of the mind is toward the material, and when the spiritualizing teachings of the Scriptures are denied their legitimate effects, and mere objects of sense are exalted, there must follow a lowering of the spiritual tone of worship. It is not strange that the mind which has been trained in this school of devotion should have an inclination to add to the objects of its worship. God is represented as a spirit, to be worshiped as a spirit in spirit and in truth. Minds accustomed to a low plane of spiritual worship crave mediators through whom they may approach the awful majesty of the Lord Almighty, and whose powerful influence may plead for them. It was this which caused the famous treatise on the "Celestial Hierarchy," purporting to be the work of a disciple of St. Paul, to be received with so much favor in the Middle Ages.* Below the Primal Deity it put three descending triads, the lowest in power and glory being nearest man, and the highest nearest God. It is this which delights to honor the saints and the angels, and to seek their powerful intercession. Catholics claim to observe distinctions in the worship which they pay to celestial beings. The highest, latria, is paid to God alone, as in the adoration of the host in the mass; the lowest, dulia, is paid to saints and angels; while the transcendent merits of the Blessed Virgin are honored by hyperdulia. We will not stop to inquire how accurately the masses of worshipers may be able in practice to observe these distinctions. It is enough that prayers are offered which are not addressed to the triune God. We have seen that the prayer to the Virgin comes on the rosary ten times where the Lord's Prayer comes once, and it always follows the latter, says "Butler's Catechism," in order that "by her intercession we may more easily obtain what we ask for in the Lord's Prayer." In the "*confiteor*" which all the faithful use constantly, confession is made to "Almighty God, to the Blessed Mary ever Virgin, to blessed Michael the archangel, to blessed John the Baptist, to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and to all saints;" and the Virgin, the Baptist, the

* See Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. viii, pp. 190–196.

archangel, and the apostles and saints are besought to pray to the Lord on behalf of the suppliant; and a prayer, recommended for use in the "Short Catechism," begs the patronage of the Virgin and asks her to "deliver us from all dangers." No one can deny that it is lawful to pray to saints without incurring the "anathema" of the Church. She whose boast is *semper eadem* has put the stamp of her authority on this shocking doctrine and made it a perpetual error.

The scope of this article permits but one more example of the grave errors which the dogma of Church authority involves. If the Church cannot err in matters of faith and morals, and all men must listen to her voice, and submit to her authority in order to be saved, the faithful can and must put their consciences to rest as to her teachings. If the believer yields implicit obedience, believing what she tells him to believe as truth, denying what she tells him to deny as error, his conscience must be held to be guiltless. The Church assumes for him all responsibility of ascertaining all religious and moral truth necessary for him to know. His conscience is only bound to unquestioning acceptance and implicit obedience. He sees that holiness is inherent in the Church as an institution,* and that by becoming a faithful member he becomes a partaker of that holiness. The Church furnishes a spiritual judge to examine his conscience, to grant him remission, to impose penance, and, in short, to take in charge the welfare of his soul. With an infallible pope and council to define truth, and a plenipotentiary priesthood to impart it and confer the divine graces necessary to salvation, there is sufficient reason for a settled conscience and no motive to sin against the Church and against God by doubt.

He who would be a good Catholic, therefore, cannot be an independent investigator of religious truth. We have quoted, on another page, a statement of Mgr. Capel, which reflects the

* This doctrine would repay, if there were space for it, a careful examination. Consider it, for example, in connection with this admission by Moehler. "Doubtless examples enough can be alleged of priests, bishops, and popes who in the most unconscionable and unjustifiable manner have failed to discharge their duty when it was quite in their power to bring about a reform in morals, or who by their own scandalous conduct and lives have extinguished the still glimmering torch which they ought to have kindled. Hell hath swallowed them up."—"Symbolism," p. 270.

teaching of the Church in these words: "To doubt willfully any one article of faith, or to enter on the examination of any dogma with the intention of suspending belief until the conclusion of such examination, would be for a Catholic a deadly sin." The atmosphere of our free America has made this a difficulty, even for Catholics. An Englishman, writing for a Catholic periodical * his impressions of American Catholicism, mentions the independence of the American character as "prejudicial to Catholicity." "American notions" have to be set aside in Church matters. This the American "resents," and his "independence of mind has a tendency to force its way into a sphere where independence is inadmissible."

I cannot forbear to put over against this doctrine, which obstructs God's revelation, bars human progress, and seals up all truth, a few sentences by that Samson of the Reformation who broke loose from this bondage and freed the world, Martin Luther:

> When Christ calls upon his people to beware of false prophets he recognizes not the right of the pope or the councils, but that of all Christians, to decide upon doctrine. . . . No one can command the soul unless he knows how to direct its way to heaven. This no man can do but God alone. Therefore in matters that concern the salvation of the soul nothing but the word of God is to be taught and received. . . . Every man believes as he believes at his own peril, and must see to it that his faith be right. For as little as another can descend into hell or ascend into heaven for me, so little can he believe or not believe for me. †

There have been some pitiable cases of submission to error where there was knowledge of the truth, because the authority of the Church permitted no alternative. What words could indicate more abject dependence than these: "The pope has no rival in his claims upon us. . . . If we give him up, to whom shall we go? Can I put my soul into the hands of our gracious sovereign, or of the Archbishop of Canterbury?" ‡ This is not the utterance of an ignorant slave, but of the most brilliant mind of the Roman Catholic Church, John Henry Newman, Cardinal.

* "The Month," vol. xxxii, pp. 357–373.

† Sprecher's "Groundwork of Lutheran Theology," 1879, pp. 87, 88.

‡ "Answer to Gladstone," p. 52.

## Art. VIII.—BIBLICAL HERMENEUTICS.

*Biblical Hermeneutics.* A Treatise on the Interpretation of the Old and New Testaments. By Milton S. Terry, S. T. D. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Walden & Stowe. 1883.

The position of the Bible in the history of the world is unique. It belongs to no one age. It is the property of no one nation. It is pre-eminently "The Book for all Times and for all Peoples." It has been translated into most of the languages of this many-tongued earth, and no sooner does it become known than it lays a spell on the people, attracting many readers, and completely changing the current of their thought and the character of their lives. This book never grows old. The most "advanced thought" never leaves it behind. It is as fully adapted to the people of the nineteenth century as to those who handled with reverence the papyrus or the parchment on which the first editions of its various parts were written. The study of its pages has given birth to thousands of volumes in the past. Many of those volumes are ranked among the choicest treasures of earth's literature to-day. The publication of Dr. Terry's work is convincing demonstration that the interest in the study of the book has not abated.

What is the secret of this lasting interest in this book? It contains some of the most ancient records of our race. No writer can treat on the early history of man without referring to its pages. Of all ancient documents its statements are the most reliable. On many of the things related we have no light from any other sources. As its narratives bring us into connection with the times and events chronicled by other historians, they are found to be accurate in the main, and where apparent discrepancies are presented, careful investigation and fuller information remove the discrepancy, or indicate that the statements of this book are more accurate than the histories with which they are compared. Modern discoveries have afforded convincing evidence of its singular accuracy on some points in which it had been supposed to be inaccurate. Where its statements are still called in question, as in the story of the creation, theories alone, not attested history, are placed in opposition to it, and most thoughtful students will admit that the

biblical narrative affords at least as rational an account of creation as any cosmogony yet presented for the acceptance of mankind, and one that in its details is at least as "thinkable" as any modern atheistic conception of creation.

The position of the book in the literature of the world is not less peculiar. It contains the earliest specimens of many styles of composition. We have alluded to its history. Portions of that were written more than a thousand years before Herodotus, who was regarded by the Greeks as the father of history. "The lyric poetry of the Hebrews was in its golden age nearly a thousand years before the birth of Horace. Deborah sang a model of a triumphal song full five hundred years before Sappho was born. The author of Ecclesiastes discussed the problem of evil five hundred years before Socrates in the Dialogues of Plato. The epithalamium of the Canticles is nearly a thousand years older than Ovid's "Art of Love." The Book of Esther was a venerable fragment of biography, more strange than fiction, at least twelve hundred years old, at the dawn of the romantic literature of Europe. The Proverbs of Solomon are by eight hundred years more ancient than the treatises of Seneca."*

The antiquity of the book entitles it to a distinguished place in human literature. But this is not its chief claim to attention. Apart from its history and its literature, its treasures are inestimable. It touches on the most important interests of man. It professes to come to him from God, and to impart to him light on subjects which he admits to be of the greatest moment to him—subjects which he cannot keep from his thoughts, which are necessarily related to his nature. It tells him about God, his own spiritual nature, of life beyond the grave, and of a future judgment. It tells him of sin—its nature and terrible consequences; and unfolds to him the method of salvation, offering its teachings as a guide to peace of conscience and everlasting happiness. It comes as a code of morals, setting forth what God requires, and demanding man's obedience: its very claims force it into notice. No man can afford to neglect such a book: it challenges attention. Hence in every age it has engaged the thought of men, and drawn out some of the most gifted minds in the study

* Phelps, "Men and Books."

of its pages. At the present day the interest in the study of these Scriptures is greatly quickened. The character and claims of the Book are investigated with a clearness and a wealth of scholarship never previously brought to bear on any other book. This is not a sign of lessened respect for its teachings, or of diminished confidence in its authority. On the contrary, the searching examinations to which these records are subjected attest in the strongest manner that men feel that the contents of the book supply some reasonable basis for the claims put forth on behalf of its divine origin, and make it their duty and interest to do all they can to ascertain and understand what is the foundation on which these claims rest.

Hence men desire to possess the very words of the authors of the several portions of this wondrous book. The study of the sacred text has developed into a science. Borne on by a noble enthusiasm, specialists in this department of sacred literature have sought for early manuscripts of the Scriptures as men hunt for concealed treasures. The story of their adventures while in pursuit of the object of their quest has, not inaptly, been called "the romance of the manuscripts." As the result of their persistent toil in ferreting out ancient copies of the sacred books, scanning with care those manuscripts when found, comparing the various readings presented, weighing the evidence on which each reading rests, as cautiously as the merchant weighs the finest gold, and selecting that which comes forth from the testing furnace most approved, the labors of such men as Mill, Bentley, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Scrivener, Westcott and Hort, have, in all probability, secured for the present age, a text nearer to the very words written by the inspired penmen than it has been permitted any age of the Church from the days of the apostles to possess.

The importance attached to these labors is evinced by the interest excited by the publication of the Revised Version of the New Testament. The demand for that work was unprecedented. The execution of the work has been severely criticised. Some of those criticisms are undoubtedly deserved. This is but to admit that the work is not perfect. When all reasonable deductions for these blemishes have been made, the work of the revisers stands forth as a noble contribution to

biblical science. The most prejudiced of intelligent biblical scholars, if asked by one whose limited education confines him to a translation into the English language, in what book he would find the most correct representation of the original text of the Testament, could scarcely hesitate to reply, "Read the Revised Version." The debt of students of the Bible to the men who have devoted their time and energies to the study of textual criticism is incalculable.

Having obtained a correct text, the next thing to be sought for is to ascertain the correct meaning of that text. This, and nothing but this, is the word of God. We may have the very words in which the oracle was uttered, yet those words may prove not merely useless but even misleading, unless they are correctly interpreted. It is essential to a correct understanding that the precise meaning of the words be known. Hence the importance of a suitable lexicon. We have several lexicons of the Hebrew language, and not a few devoted specially to New Testament Greek. It is in this department that the student of Scripture encounters one of his most serious difficulties. Christianity as a new revelation created a vocabulary peculiarly its own. Its heralds introduced some new words. But, for the most part, they employed words already in use, imparting to them a new, richer, fuller meaning, ennobling the words by their adoption into the language of the kingdom. The compiler of such a lexicon as is needed must give full attention to what has been happily designated "the language-molding power of Christianity." Perhaps it would not be going too far to say, that the greatest desideratum to the student of the New Testament at the present time is a really good lexicon of New Testament Greek. The biblical scholar who will furnish such a work will confer a lasting benefit on many, and one that will encourage not a few to study the Greek text with more persistent earnestness.

The grammatical peculiarities of New Testament Greek are not few. The very genesis of the dialect, and the circumstances of the authors, necessitated this. A knowledge of those peculiarities will be a great help to the interpreter of the sacred text. In this department, if we are not yet furnished with all that we could desire, we have very valuable help in the grammars of Winer and Buttmann, especially as they have

been annotated in the translations into English by Thayer and Moulton.

A further help to a correct interpretation will be found in the knowledge of the personal history and character of the writer of each book, the circumstances of those to whom he wrote, the particular object he had in view, and the time and place in which he wrote. This age is rich in treatises on Old and New Testament "introduction," or in monographs in which all that is needful in the case of separate books is abundantly supplied. These cannot be safely left unnoticed by any person who aims at a correct interpretation of the oracles of God.

These appliances supply the material on which the interpreter has to try his skill, and the tools which he is to employ in his noble work. Hermeneutics comes to his aid when he is thus furnished; points out his work, teaches him how to do that work, and drills him in the use of his tools.

In the following quotation Dr. Terry states with clearness and fullness the aim of Hermeneutics, and carefully points out the difference between several departments of sacred literature:

> Hermeneutics aims to establish the principles, methods, and rules which are needful to unfold the sense of what is written. Its object is to elucidate whatever may be obscure or ill-defined, so that every reader may be able, by an intelligent process, to obtain the exact ideas intended by the author. Exegesis is the application of these principles and laws, the actual bringing out into formal statements, and by other terms, the meaning of the author's words. Exegesis is related to hermeneutics as preaching is to homiletics, or, in general, as practice is to theory. Exposition is another word often used synonymously with exegesis, and has essentially the same signification; and yet, perhaps, in common usage, exposition denotes more extended development and illustration on the sense, dealing more largely with other Scriptures by comparison and contrast. We observe, accordingly, that the writer on Biblical Introduction examines the historical foundations and canonical authority of the books of Scripture. The textual critic detects interpolations, emends false readings, and aims to give us the very words which the sacred writers used. The exegete takes up these words, and by means of the principles of hermeneutics, defines their meaning, elucidates the scope and plan of each writer, and brings forth the grammatico-historical sense of what each book contains. The expositor builds upon the labors both of critics and exegetes, and sets forth in fuller

form, and by ample illustration, the ideas, doctrines, and moral lessons of the Scripture.—Pages 19, 20.

To the science of Biblical Hermeneutics Dr. Terry's book is a very valuable and a very timely contribution. It is clear in the statement of principles, full in the elucidation of them, independent in tone, and almost prodigal in the free outpouring of the acquisitions of a scholarship that is at once wide and accurate. If the library of which this work forms a volume be made up of works of equal merit, the distinguished editors may rejoice in the consciousness that they have given to the Church the most valuable contribution to theological science that has ever been issued by the press of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The first part of the book is devoted to an "Introduction to Biblical Hermeneutics." It would be somewhat difficult to show how all the topics discussed in this introduction fall naturally within the compass of a treatise on Hermeneutics. Considering that the work is intended as one volume of a library of Biblical and Theological Literature, the varied contents of this volume would suggest the fear that the province of some other writer, or even writers, must be intruded on. Some will think, from the extent of the volume, that the book would have been improved by the omission of some of the chapters. Still, few who read them attentively will wish that they had been omitted. They contain much valuable information on subjects cognate to the theme of the book, and afford ample evidence of the extensive reading of the author. The first chapter closes with a forceful setting forth of the rank and importance of Hermeneutics in Theological Science, and points out the vital importance of the study to the Christian preacher:

> The great work of the Christian ministry is to preach the word; and that most important labor cannot be effectually done without a thorough knowledge of the Scriptures and skill in the interpretation and application of the same. Personal piety and practical godliness are nourished by the study of the written word. . . . The apostle Paul admonished Timothy that the Holy Scriptures were able to make him wise unto salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. And Jesus himself, interceding for his own chosen followers, prayed, "Sanctify them in the truth, thy word is truth." Accordingly, the Lord's embassador must not adulterate, but rightly divide, the word of the truth. For if ever the divinely

appointed ministry of reconciliation accomplish the perfecting of the saints and the building up of the body of Christ so as to bring all to the attainment of the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, it must be done by a correct interpretation and efficient use of the word of God. The interpretation and application of that word must rest upon a sound and self-evidencing science of Hermeneutics.—Page 22.

It is refreshing to the spirit to meet with such a statement of the relation of the office of preaching to the interpretation of the sacred Scriptures. When this is recognized by the preachers of the Gospel generally there will be more attention devoted to "give the sense (of the book) and cause them (the people) to understand the reading." Then may we look for a more consistent, because a more enlightened, piety.

The third chapter treats of the languages of the Bible. We shall not follow the author into the discussion of the origin and growth of language. The chapter is fruitful in tempting themes, but they seem to draw the reader away from the subject of Hermeneutics. The opening utterance of the chapter challenges attention. Dr. Terry says:

A thorough acquaintance with the genius and grammatical structure of the original languages of the Bible is essentially the basis of all sound interpretation. A translation, however faithful, is itself an interpretation, and cannot be safely made a substitute for original and independent investigation. As an introduction, therefore, to Biblical Hermeneutics, it is of the first importance that we have a knowledge of those ancient tongues in which the sacred oracles were written.—Page 69.

It is not necessary here to discuss the question: Is any man qualified to act as an authorized public interpreter of Scripture who lacks this knowledge of the languages in which the Scriptures were written? There would necessarily be a wide difference in the answers given to the question, and the answers on both sides would be sustained by arguments not to be lightly disregarded. All will probably agree that an embassador ought, if possible, to be able to read his commission and credentials in the language in which they were written, and not rest satisfied to receive them at second-hand. The passage quoted is worthy of deep consideration, especially by young ministers, and students preparing for the ministry. The first stages in the attempt to acquire a really helpful knowledge of

the original languages of Scripture are comparatively uninviting and dull. Few students leave college sufficiently masters of Greek to read the New Testament in the original with ease and pleasure. Fewer still have made the peculiarities of New Testament Greek a special study. Many leave college without acquiring even the elements of Hebrew. Of the theological students who, in the seminary, nominally pursue a three-years' course in that language, very few make any real use of it in after life. One chief reason of this may be found in the difficulty which they experience in *reading* the original text. It would be well in all colleges and theological schools in which Hebrew is taught to devote so much time to the study in the first year as would enable the careful student to read the text aloud as correctly, fluently, and readily as English is read. While a child has to spell out every second word, and even then is not certain that he is correct, he is not likely to read extensively for pleasure. Many who have devoted their time and energy cheerfully to the study of Hebrew when preparing for the work of the ministry have found their labor and time unremunerative from the simple fact that the want of skill in reading the text made the work a perfect drudgery. If the minister's chief function be to expound and apply the Holy Scriptures, and if the teaching of Dr. Terry be correct, the student who is endeavoring to secure an education which may help to make him a workman who needeth not to be ashamed, must make up his mind to overcome every obstacle, and become so far a master of the original languages of the Scriptures as to read them with fluency and with a goodly measure of critical skill.

In the ninth chapter the author returns to the subject of Hermeneutics, and considers the qualifications of an interpreter. These are presented as intellectual—largely native to the soul; educational—acquired by study and research; and spiritual—which may be regarded both as native and acquired. There is some danger of losing sight of the last, while considering the first and second classes of qualifications. And yet, valuable as intellectual and educational qualifications unquestionably are, the spiritual qualifications must always remain the most important to the interpreter of Scripture. How instructive on this point are the words of a recent writer:

An object can only be seen by some appropriate faculty to which it naturally appeals. We must be mathematically minded to make the highest attainments in mathematics; poetically minded to have insight into the things of poetry; scientifically minded to know the deep things of natural science; spiritually minded to know the things of the Spirit. Holiness alone can understand holiness. "Without holiness no man can see the Lord," in his works or in his word, either in earth or in heaven. Without holiness you may, indeed, understand Hebrew as well as Caiaphas did; Latin as well as Pilate did; the Greek as well as that Athenian did who charged Paul with setting forth "strange gods;" the geography and antiquities of Palestine as perfectly as the proudest Pharisee that ever wore phylacteries; but God's book will be a sealed book to you; and though you may have a grammatical knowledge of the words which reveal holy things, you will never know the things themselves. For "the natural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned;" while "he that is spiritual judgeth all things." Well might Augustine say: "The *heart* is the true theologian;" for, from the nature of things, as well as from the sovereign declaration of the Great Teacher, we learn that only "the pure in heart shall see God."*

Few will rise from the study of this chapter without feeling "Who is sufficient for these things?"

The second and most important part of the work treats of the "Principles of Biblical Hermeneutics." These are defined as "those governing laws and methods of procedure by which the interpreter determines the meaning of the Holy Scriptures. They are of the nature of comprehensive and fundamental doctrines. They become to the practical exegete so many maxims, postulates, and settled rules. He is supposed to hold them in his mind as axioms, and to apply them in all his expositions with uniform consistency."—P. 161. The importance of establishing sound and trustworthy principles of exposition is fully realized, and clearly stated, by the author. This is evidently felt to be the chief end of writing the book. Yet this is just the point which many interpreters of Scripture fail to see and neglect to provide for. The Bible is analogous to nature in many respects—certainly in this, that sad work has been made out of the attempt to explain the mysteries of both as the result of entering on that work without any fixed principles of interpretation, or under the control of erroneous prin-

* Stanford, "Central Truths," p. 73.

ciples. The divine origin of the Bible, as of nature, is demonstrated by its absolute inexhaustibleness. As the scientists of each succeeding generation find that the discoveries of their predecessors have left a large virgin field still untouched to invite and reward their labors, so the students of the Bible constantly find, as their eyes are opened to behold wondrous things out of God's law, that their patient toil in "ransacking" the Scriptures is ever and anon rewarded with the discovery of some gem of truth that had, up to that moment, concealed itself from the explorer's view. Men study nature and the Bible, and weary not of their work. In investigating them they find no indication of failing material. Between these two inexhaustible revelations of the same infinite Intelligence there is a marked difference; yet the points of interest in common are not few. Each unfolds what is all-important to man. In each the practically useful is closely connected with what is theoretically sound. In neither will you find the treasures on the surface. Earnest labor, diligent and persevering, is the only condition on which they will yield up their hidden treasures. When these are sought in the right way the results richly recompense the toil of the workers. Hence the evils of mistake in the methods of study are proportional to the value and importance of the results aimed at. Few chapters in the chronicles of human progress are more interesting than the story of the life-work of some of the early pioneers in investigating the secrets of nature. Their enthusiastic devotedness to their chosen pursuit calls forth our admiration. Their heroic perseverance in the midst of discouragements, and the stupendous difficulties over which they triumphed, impress us with the sense of their energy and indomitable will. Yet during many years they made little progress in the knowledge of nature. Many of the theories which they believed and taught provoke a smile at the present day; and their practical discoveries, when placed in comparison with those of the past fifty years, seem meager in the extreme. Looking back from our vantage-ground we can, without difficulty, detect some of the causes of their failure. In many cases their efforts were directed to the attainment of objects not within the field of human science. In seeking these, the most approved methods of modern investigation would have been utterly useless. The

chemist of modern science has astonished the world by his discoveries, and has enriched it by the practical application of them to the affairs of every-day life: but Faraday, Tyndall, and their fellow-laborers are just as far from discovering the philosopher's stone as the alchemist of the distant past, who consumed the energies of a life in the persistent quest of that wondrous phantom. The comparatively unfruitful outcome of their ceaseless toil is now clearly seen to have been due in many cases to their employment of methods not suitable to their work. The methods they employed could not, in the hands of any investigators, have yielded results really satisfactory. In modern times immense strides have been made in man's knowledge of the universe and its laws. Of this all are conscious. Yet as the advancement of science goes on daily around us we do not notice the changes that it is working, as we should be certain to do under other circumstances. If one of the foremost sons of science of a hundred years ago were permitted to return to the earth, he would find himself in a new world. When his astonishment would permit him to speak, he would discover that his vocabulary did not supply the words he would require to converse on subjects that are perfectly familiar to us in our every-day life. To him every thing would seem changed. Yet there has been no change in nature. No new elements have been introduced. No new principles have been set at work. The principles of nature are better understood by men, and are more wisely and more extensively applied in practice. That is all. The consequence is, all the discoveries of modern science and all the increase in the comforts and conveniences peculiar to modern civilization. Who can estimate the advantage?

The heavens declared the glory of God in the infancy of our race in accents just as loud and just as intelligible as in our day, but the voices were, in good part, unintelligible to man, because he had not yet learned in even an imperfect sense "to think God's thoughts after him." The treasures stored up in the depths of the earth, and the marvelous properties latent in the commonest things surrounding man, voiced then the tender love of our Father to his new-born children, and his matchless wisdom in providing for their ever-multiplying needs, just as distinctly as at present; but the richness of that provision, and

the adaptation of the world provided for them, were then comparatively hidden from their view, because men had not learned to unearth those treasures, or to understand and utilize those properties. Nature more scientifically studied, more correctly understood, more wisely and extensively utilized, has yielded us the clearer light and the substantial advantages which we possess as compared with the men of former times. As we exult in those possessions, and pity those who lived surrounded with the same treasures but knew it not, may we not fancy that the men of a coming age will feel a like pity for us? With all the perfection of our modern science, and the attention devoted to the methods of studying nature, is it not possible that we are living surrounded by treasures inconceivable in their vastness and their value, which shall speak to the men of ages yet to come the inexhaustible goodness of God, in accents just as clear as those in which the boundless goodness of our God now calls forth our adoring gratitude?

The Bible is a higher revelation from God of himself, and of his love to man, and his bounteous provision for his varying necessities. The blessing conferred on us by the book are even more valuable and lasting than those presented to us in nature, and, when rightly apprehended, they fully justify the statement of the apostle when he speaks of the possession of the oracles of God as the highest advantage conferred on our race. The Scriptures, wherever known, even in part, touch man's highest interests, and always for good. It is impossible to estimate aright the obligations of the world to the Bible. The human family has lost much from the errors into which the interpreters of the book have fallen in the past. Those errors have been similar to the mistakes which have limited and even marred the work of the interpreters of nature. The purpose of the book has been misapprehended. Light has been sought from it on points on which it was not designed to be a revelation. Methods have been adopted in investigating its teachings which were utterly unfitted to lead to a correct interpretation, and, in cases not a few, would-be interpreters have come to the Book, not to ascertain its teachings, but to find in it support for theories adopted without any reference to its utterances. Sad as these things are, they only show that the men were human. Their errors have not changed the character of the

Bible, or weakened its claims on the attention of men. This needs to be kept in mind. Many persons speak and write as if they thought that the mistakes of generations past in the use of the Bible, and the unwarranted conclusions forced from it, were reasons why the book itself should be discredited or neglected. As we study the expositions of the Bible that have come down to us from the ages that are past, we meet with many things that are erroneous, absurd, mischievous; but these notwithstanding, the book abides, and is still "the perfect law of liberty," able to make wise unto salvation. The erroneous doctrines and misleading conclusions of former interpreters, clearly seen now, are laid aside, just as refuted theories in natural science are discarded. These are seen to have been no part of the Bible, as the errors of the early scientists are seen to have been no part of nature; and as the modern scientist still looks to the universe around him as the source whence, and whence alone, he may hope to obtain the knowledge which he seeks, so he who has separated himself to pursue the truths that bear on the highest interests of man's nature—the spiritual and the moral—turns to the oracles of God with unbated confidence as the one great store-house in which he may find the most valuable knowledge within the reach of man on the subjects of his study. He clearly perceives the errors of his predecessors, and without difficulty traces many of them to the faulty principles of interpretation adopted in the study of the book. He wonders at the masses of rich ore which, in spite of this impediment, they were enabled to extract from this mine of inspired truth; and, arguing from the analogous history of scientific investigation, he is captivated with the picture that rises before his vision of the glorious results that await his investigation when, under the guidance of sound and carefully selected principles of interpretation, he devotes his energies to understand and make known the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge that abound in this matchless book.

Whatever others may think, the extent of the second division of the work will not be regarded by such a student as a blemish in the book. In it we meet with carefully studied expositions of parables, allegories, difficult prophetical passages, and, especially, minute and lengthy comments on the eschatological portions of the Scriptures. These may be regarded by some

as out of place in a treatise on Hermeneutics. Yet they are not to be regarded as accidents, or as so many digressions from the theme of the book. If we are guided by the familiar canon, "In every work regard the writer's aim," they will be esteemed an essential part of his plan. Thus the author says:

As the full grammar of a language establishes its principles by sufficient examples and by formal praxis, so a science of hermeneutics must needs verify and illustrate its principles by examples of their practical application. Its province is not merely to define principles and methods, but also to exemplify and illustrate them. Hermeneutics, therefore, is both a science and an art. As a science, it enunciates principles, investigates the laws of thought and language, and classifies its facts and results. As an art, it teaches what application those principles should have, and establishes their soundness by showing their practical value in the elucidation of the more difficult Scriptures. The hermeneutical art thus cultivates and establishes a valid exegetical procedure.—Page 20.

Viewed from this stand point, the expositions constitute the "praxis" of the system, illustrating the application of the principles inculcated, and the results reached by the use of them. To many readers they will constitute a chief attraction of the book; and, while some may not adopt all the principles laid down, and be further still from agreeing in every case with the expositions reached through the application of those principles, yet will they find in the illustration of the method of applying principles once adopted, and working them out carefully and conscientiously in exposition, much that will be of permanent value to them in their personal study of the sacred writings.

In entering on the statement of principles a chapter is devoted to the "Different Methods of Interpretation." The principles of the Allegorical, Mystical, Pietistic, Accommodation-Theory, Moral, Naturalistic, Mythical, Apologetic, and Dogmatic Methods of Interpretation are briefly set before the readers, with the names of leading interpreters in each school, and a specimen of their interpretation. The list closes with the Grammatico-Historical Method, of which we are told:

In distinction from all the above-mentioned methods of interpretation, we may name the Grammatico-Historical as the method which most fully commends itself to the judgment and conscience of Christian scholars. Its fundamental principle is to

gather from the Scriptures themselves the precise meaning which the writers intended to convey. It applies to the sacred books the same principles, the same grammatical process and exercise of common sense and reason, which we apply to other books. The grammatico-historical exegete, furnished with suitable qualifications, intellectual, educational, and moral, will accept the claims of the Bible without prejudice or adverse prepossession, and, with no ambition to prove them true or false, will investigate the language and import of each book with fearless independence. He will master the language of the writer, the particular dialect which he used, and his peculiar style and manner of expression. He will inquire into the circumstances under which he wrote, the manners and customs of his age, and the purpose or object which he had in view. He has a right to assume that no sensible author will be knowingly inconsistent with himself or seek to bewilder and mislead his readers.—Page 173.

Again, (on page 210,) we read:

The grammatical sense is to be always sought by a careful study and application of the well-established principles and rules of the language. A close attention to the meaning and relations of words, a care to note the course of thought, and to allow each case, mood, tense, and the position of each word, to contribute its part to the general whole, and a caution lest we assign to words and phrases a scope and conception foreign to the *usus loquendi* of the language—these are rules which, if faithfully observed, will always serve to bring out the real import of any document.

These extracts set before us the key-note of Dr. Terry's system, the basis, approved as solid and trustworthy, on which his system rests. He has evidently studied his positions with care, and tested them in practice. Hence he feels no lack of confidence in them. He maintains them manfully, and follows them without misgiving wherever they may lead. He lays it down as a principle that "words and sentences can have but one signification in one and the same connection. The moment we neglect this principle we drift out upon a sea of uncertainty and conjecture." Applying this principle to the narratives of miraculous events, he writes:

The miracles of the Bible are recorded as facts, actual occurrences, witnessed by few or by many as the case might be, and the writers give no intimation that their statements involve any thing but plain literal truth. Even in the much-disputed story of Jephthah's daughter he abides by his canon, and says, "The sacred writer declares that, after the two months, Jephthah did to his daughter the vow *which he had vowed*—not something else which he had not vowed.

The same manly confidence in the application of principles deliberately adopted characterizes the book in discussing questions not merely of exposition, but matters belonging to other departments of sacred literature. We may select as an illustration the question as to the date of the Apocalypse. Our author lays it down as a principle of interpretation "that all due regard must be had to the person and circumstances of the author, the time and place of his writing, and the occasion and reasons which led him to write. Nor must we omit similar inquiry into the character, conditions, and history of those for whom the book was written, and of those also of whom the book makes mention." Having briefly touched upon the external evidence, and pointed out its weakness as favoring the later date, he sums up the internal evidence in the following "six propositions:"

1. No critic of any note has ever claimed that the later date is required by any internal evidence. 2. On the contrary, if John the apostle is the author, the comparatively rough Hebraic style of the language unquestionably argues for it an earlier date than his gospel or epistles. 3. The address "to the seven Churches which are in Asia" (i, 4, 11) implies that at this time there were only seven Churches in that Asia where Paul was once forbidden by the Spirit to speak the word. 4. The prominence in which persecution from the Jews is set forth in the epistles to the seven Churches also argues an early date. 5. A most weighty argument for the early date appears in the mention of the temple, court, and city in chapter xi, 1, 3. These references, and the further designation, in verse 8, of that city "which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified," obviously imply that the Jewish temple, court, and city were yet standing. 6. Finally, what should especially impress every reader is the emphatic statement, placed in the very title of the book, and repeated in one form and another again and again, that this is a revelation of "things which must shortly come to pass," and the time of which is near "at hand," (Rev. i, 1, 3; xxii, 6, 7, 10, 12, 20.)

In treating of the exposition of parables we are reminded that the parable has three parts: 1. The occasion and scope; 2. The similitude, in the form of a real narrative; and, 3. The moral and religious lessons. Answering to these we are told:

The hermeneutical principles which should guide us in understanding all parables are mainly three. First, we should determine the historical occasion and aim of the parable; secondly,

we should make an accurate analysis of the subject-matter, and observe the nature and properties of the thing employed as imagery in the similitudes; and thirdly, we should interpret the several parts with reference to the general scope and design of the whole, so as to preserve a harmony of proportion, maintain the unity of all the parts, and make prominent the great central truth.

Carrying out the practical character of the book, this method of interpretation is illustrated by a careful exposition of several of the parables. This "praxis" will well repay a careful study. The chapters on Interpretation of Symbols, Symbolico-Typical Actions, Symbolical Numbers, Names, and Colors, Dreams and Prophetic Ecstasy, Prophecy and its Interpretation, Daniel's Vision of the Four Empires, Old Testament Apocalyptics, The Gospel Apocalypse, The Pauline Eschatology, The Apocalypse of John, are well written, and touch on some of the most interesting points in the creed of the Christian Church. Many readers will be disposed to question the claim that some of the matters treated of in these chapters really have to a minute discussion in a work on Hermeneutics. Let opinions vary on this point as they may, all will agree that Dr. Terry writes on them with a clearness which renders it difficult for any attentive scholar to misapprehend his meaning, and with a manly confidence which bespeaks the conviction that careful examination entitles him to speak on these vexed questions with the authority of a master in Israel. Notwithstanding the comprehensive summary of New Testament Apocalyptics and Eschatology with which the twenty-sixth chapter closes, some readers will feel anxious to know what views Dr. Terry holds as to the words of the Creed, "from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead," and on what Scripture passages he would base the final coming of Christ, the future judgment, and eternal destiny. The closing sentence of the summary, "the final manifestation of the Christ, when he shall have completed the work of redemption, and delivered over the kingdom to the Father, is left by the sacred writers in too great mystery for us to affirm definitely any thing concerning it," may indicate a very safe and prudent reserve, but certainly cannot be received as a very valuable addition to our knowledge on these important topics, after so protracted an examination of many of the passages in the Bible treating on

them. In the chapter entitled "No Double Sense in Prophecy," the author shows that the Scriptures are capable of manifold practical applications, and adds that "the moment we admit the principle that portions of Scripture contain an occult or double sense we introduce an element of uncertainty in the sacred volume, and unsettle all scientific interpretation." The teachings of this chapter are worthy of special attention, and if prudently applied will save from many mistakes in the exposition of the prophetic Scriptures. The chapter on "The False and the True Accommodation," and that portion of chapter thirty-three which treats of the "Analogy of Faith," are clearly connected with the subject of the book; but however highly we may estimate the material of some other chapters of this second part, we cannot but feel that they are not essential to the completeness of the treatise, and that they needlessly swell the size of the volume, which, from the extended passages wisely used as "praxis" to train the student in the practical use of the principles of the science, is almost too extensive without them.

The third part contains a History of Biblical Interpretation. Without this the work would not have been complete. A little economy of space in the former parts, and a somewhat fuller and more systematic treatment of the History of Hermeneutics would, in our opinion, have been desirable. Nine distinct periods are dwelt upon, a chapter being devoted to each period. These chapters are full of interesting and valuable information. They do not, however, furnish a satisfactory *history* of Biblical Interpretation. They rather furnish an annotated list of many of the principal contributors to biblical literature in every age, with the insertion of the names of some who, by their attacks on Christianity, induced the friends of truth to devote their time and energies to the preparation of defensive treatises in many departments of theological literature, not confining themselves to Hermeneutics. One cannot help asking why some names find a place on the list, or wishing that a little more had been said about others. Laying down the book after a careful reading of this part, a feeling bordering on disappointment takes possession of the reader. He does not feel as if had received any clear impression of the progressive development of the science. He does not apprehend what were the particular contributions of each period to hermeneutics,

and is unable to trace their influence in bringing the science to its present advanced condition. This impression might perchance have been lessened if this part had been read before the discussion of the principles of the science. The details presented in the history, as it is, clearly and forcefully sustain what the author has said on the necessity and value of sound principles of interpretation. When giants in intellect and prodigies in learning, such as many of those named, were led by the adoption of absurd principles of interpretation soberly to advance such views as they held as a worthy exposition of the Book of God, and to support those views with earnestness, there need be—we had almost said there can be—no more convincing proof of the absolute necessity of "well-defined and self-consistent principles of Scripture interpretation." As we reflect on the exhibition of the lamentable effects of the application of incorrect or faulty principles of interpretation manifest in the expository works of such men, a sadness comes over us, and the thought cannot be repressed, What might not they have accomplished if, before entering on their work, they had thoroughly mastered the science of Biblical Hermeneutics? How wholesome would have been the effect of their labors on the theology of the ages! How blessed their influence on the Church!

The Bibliography of Hermeneutics which follows the History contains the names of many illustrious men who have been contributors to this science. Their books have done much to promote the intelligent study of the Scriptures, and to create and develop the science of Biblical Interpretation. No similar list in the future can be complete without the name of Dr. Terry, and in that list his name can hold no inferior place.

## Art. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

### *American Reviews.*

American Catholic Quarterly Review, July, 1884. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Beginnings of Geography; by Prof. Charles G. Haberman, LL.D. 2. The Nature of the Human Soul; by Rev. J. Ming. 3. The Duty of Catholics in the Face of Modern Unbelief; by Rev. R. F. Clarke, S. J. 4. *Quid est Homo?* A Query on the Plurality of Worlds; by Rev. Thomas Hughes, S. J. 5. The Progress of the (Roman Catholic) Church in the United States; by John Gilmary Shea. 6. The Life and Times of Frederick the Second—The Kingdom of Italy; by Prof. St. George Mivart, F.R.S., etc. 7. The Irish Question, Present and Prospective; by Thomas Power O'Connor, M.P. 8. Martin Luther, and his American Worshipers; by Rt. Rev. Mgr. Corcoran, D.D. 9. Book Notices.

A. M. E. (African Methodist Episcopal) Church Review, (Quarterly,) Vol. I, No. 1, July, 1884. (Philadelphia.)—1. Thoughts about the Past, the Present, and the Future of the African M. E. Church; by Right Rev. Daniel A. Payne, D.D. 2. A Scriptural View; or, the Statement Concerning Paradise that was Lost, Regained; by Right Rev. Jabez P. Campbell, D.D. 3. An Inside View of the Great Methodist Ecumenical Conference of 1881; by Right Rev. Wm. F. Dickinson, D.D. 4. The Register of the United States Treasury; by Hon. E. K. Bruce. 5. Lincoln; by Right Rev. T. M. D. Ward, D.D. 6. The Greek of the New Testament; by W. S. Scarborough, LL.D. 7. The Dying Bondman; by Mrs. F. E. W. Harper. 8. Correspondence: Letter from Bishop H. M. Turner, D.D. 9. The Republic of Hayti, and the Revolution of 1876; by Rev. J. H. Durant. 10. The Negro in Science, Art, and Literature; by D. Augustus Straker, LL.B. 11. The Ministry we Need; by the Rev. Wm. H. Thomas. 12. Ripeness in the Gospel Ministry; by Rev. T. G. Steward, D.D. 13. That Text; by the Editor, (Rev. B. T. Tanner, D.D.) 14. Editorial Notes. 15. Our Book Table. 16. The Higher Periodicals.

Baptist Missionary Magazine, July 1884. Seventieth Anniversary of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Seventieth Annual Meeting of the Board of Managers. Seventieth Annual Report. Recapitulation. General Statistical Table. Report of the Treasurer. Officers of the American Baptist Missionary Union. Preachers at Financial and Annual Meetings. Honorary Members for Life.

Christian Thought, July and August, 1884. (Rev. Charles F. Deems, Editor. Bimonthly.) 1. Counter Currents in the Thought and Speculation of the Time; by Rev. J. H. Rylance. 2. Some Recent Criticisms on Theistic Belief; by Francis L. Patton, D.D. 3. Atheistic Scientists. (a poem;) by John Stuart Blackie. 4. An Unbeliever's Description of Christianity; by the late Lord O'Neill. 5. My Science. (a poem;) by William C. Richards. 6. Vedantism: a Popular Statement of Hindu Pantheism; by Rev. T. J. Scott. (of Bareilly, India.) 7. The Humorist Playing at Philosophy. 8. Memorabilia. 9. The Summer School at Key East; by C. M. Davis. 10. About Books.

Christian World, July, 1884. The American Church, Paris, (Illustrated;) by Rev. L. T. Chamberlain, D.D. Revolution of Massachusetts General Association. Special Amusements. Echoes from Paris; by Rev. A. F. Beard, D.D. Eden, (a poem;) by M. Saillens. A Million Francs for a Million Souls; by Pastor Frossard. Work among Italians in Marseilles; by Signor Piovallini. Testimonies Respecting France. Theological Seminary at Geneva; by Professor Bardi. Protestantism and French Politics. Monthly Receipts.

Journal of Christian Philosophy, July, 1884. (New York.)—1. Visual Memory; by Professor Henry F. Osborn, Sc.D. 2. Claims of the Apostles as to

Inspiration; by Rev. C. S. Thwing. 3. God's Method in the Bible; by D. W. Faunce, D. D. 4. The Fruit of the Spirit; by Rev. W. H. Cobb, D.D. 5. The Physiological Features of the Crucifixion; by Thomas A. Hoyt, D.D. 6. Miracles *versus* the Continuity of Nature; by Rev. Francis W. Ryder. 7. Is the Bible Free from Historic and Scientific Errors; by Rev. Addison P. Foster. 8. Is Evangelical Christianity Obsolete; by Rev. Charles Lowell Cooper. 9. The Cause and Tendencies of Popular Skepticism; by Rev. William Smith, (Hudson, N. Y.) 10. The Old Testament Tested; by Rev. W. F. Crafts. 11. A Naturalist in Egypt; by Principal John W. Dawson, LL.D.

New Englander, (Bimonthly,) September, 1884. (New Haven.)—1. Jonathan Edwards and the Half-way Covenant; by Rev. George Leon Walker, D.D., (Hartford.) 2. Jonathan Edwards as a Man, and the Ministers of the Last Century; by Rev. I. N. Tarbox, D.D., (Boston.) 3. Conditions of Success in Spelling Reform; by Prof. H. N. Day, (New Haven.) 4. Qualities of Matter, as Related to Perception; by Rev. E. Jones, (Oakland, Cal.) 5. The First Church of Hartford, Conn.; by Rev. I. N. Tarbox, (Boston.) 6. The Anti-Christian Use of the Bible in the Sunday-School; by Rev. J. M. Whiton, (Newark, N. J.) 8. The Condition of the Laboring Classes of England; by Rev. C. S. Walker, (South Amherst.) 8. Immortality and Evolution; by Miss Vida D. Scudder, (Magnolia, Mass.) 9. Underground Russia; by Marion Wilcox. (New Haven.) 10. Taxation in the United States. 11. Notices of New Books.

North American Review, August, 1884. (New York.)—1 The Encroachment of Capital; by Justice James V. Campbell. 2. The Origin of Comets; by Richard A. Proctor. 3. Are We a Nation of Rascals? by John F. Hume. 4. Man and Brute; by George J. Romanes. 5. The Drift toward Centralization; by Judge Edward G. Loring. 6. The American Element in Fiction; by Julian Hawthorne. 7. Prohibition and Persuasion; by Neal Dow and Dr. Dio Lewis.

September, 1884.—1. The Basis of Popular Government; by Bishop J. L. Spaulding. 2. The Demand of the Industrial Spirit; by Charles Dudley Warner. 3. Inspiration and Infallibility; by Rev. Dr. J. H. Rylance. 4. The Need of Liberal Divorce Laws; by Elizabeth Cady Stanton. 5. Our Remote Ancestry; by Prof. Alexander Winchell. 6. The Exclusion of the Chinese; by John H. Durst. 7. Evils of the Tariff System; by David Wells, and others.

Presbyterian Review, July, 1884. (New York.)—1. Rev. Dr. James Richards and his Theology, (II;) by Prof. R B. Welch, D.D. 2. The Proper Training of Young Converts; by Rev. Francis F. Hamlin. 3. Melanchthon; by Rev. Prof. Schaff. 4. The Religious Belief of Shakespeare. 5. Notes and Notices. 6. Reviews of Recent Theological Literature.

Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. July, 1884. J. W. Hinton, Editor. (Macon, Ga.)—1. Animal and Vegetable Kingdom. 2. The Revival of Letters. 3. Greek Mythology and Philosophy. 4. Experimental Argument, etc. 5. Mormonism. 6. Theological Methods. 7. Mrs. Browning. 8. Incarnation of Christ. 9. The Category of Being. 10. Æsthetics. 11. Limits of the Beautiful. 12. Paradox. Library, Table, Views and Reviews. Editorial Notes.

Unitarian Review and Religious Magazine, July, 1884. (Boston.)—1. Where are We in Religion? by Rev. Thomas R. Slicer. 2. The New English Dictionary; by W. C. Ernst. 3. Idealism in German Ethics; by Rev. J. G. Brooks. 4. A Daring Faith; by Rev. John W. Chadwick. 5. Relation of the Church of To-day to Education; by Rev. John H. Allen. 6. Editor's Note-Book. 7. Current Movements and Events. 8. Things at Home and Abroad. 9. Review of Current Literature.

August, 1884.—1. Ezra Abbott, D.D., LL.D.; by Prof. James H. Thayer. 2. The Prolegomena to Tischendorf's New Testament; by Rev. A. P. Peabody, D.D. 3. Personality in Theism; by Rev. B. R. Bulkely. 4. Education of Women in France; by D. Charraud. 5. Editor's Note-Book. 6. Current Movements and Events. 7. Things at Home and Abroad; by Mrs. Martha P. Lowe. 8. Review of Current Literature.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA, July, 1884. (Oberlin, Ohio.)—1. Christian Doctrine and Life; by Rev. D. W. Simon, D.D. 2. The Study of the Hebrew Language among Jews and Christians; by the Rev B. Pick. 3. Commonplace Books: a Lecture; by Prof. James Davis Butler, LL.D. 4. Inspiration; with Remarks on the Theory Presented in Ladd's Doctrine of Sacred Scripture; by Rev. Geo. N. Boardman, D.D. 5. The Dialectic Method of Jesus; by Rev. Richard Montague. 6. The True Principles of Theological Progress; by President Fairchild. 7. Critical Notes. 8. Current Periodical Literature — American, English, French, German. 9. Notices of Recent Publications.

Article 4, filling nearly fifty pages, is an elaborate discussion of the doctrine of the inspiration of the Holy Scriptures as held and taught especially among Protestants, with special references to the system or theory set forth in his recently published work by Professor Ladd, of Yale College. The writer's views are apparently much less "advanced" than are those of the author whom he reviews, though he is still himself very far removed from the literalistic and mechanical theory which so long, and, until comparatively recently, was generally accepted by the evangelical Churches. He begins by setting forth that theory as one of the two prevalent, perhaps possible, views of inspiration, the other being that form of inspiration which operates exclusively through the mind of the subject by which he speaks and writes in his own proper and consciously self-directed individuality. According to the former of these, the Bible is, in all its details, simply a transcript of the divine mind—God's thoughts expressed in human language—itself dictated by the controlling Spirit. This theory the reviewer quite correctly sets aside as altogether untenable, and no longer sustained by any respectable authority; and yet he appears not to be prepared to accept the alternative one, unless carefully guarded, and, indeed, limited, by such conditions as would change its identity. This latter is the theory of Professor Ladd, as wrought out in his elaborate treatise on "The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture."

This method of viewing Scripture doctrines, in and through certain definite theories, is beset with very considerable disadvantages, which may also become perilous by compelling the acceptance of dangerous errors because of their association with indispensable truths. It may be also objected that neither of these theories, nor any other, is either directly, or by implication, taught in the Scriptures, which, however, do most certainly claim to have been given by divine inspiration Any possible conception of such a gift implies a communication

between the divine and the human intelligence, but the method of the assumed intercourse need not to be always the same. The supernatural is a universal presence in the realm of the natural, and is able at any time to become manifest in men's natural consciousness; and, by virtue of this, "God, at sundry times, and in divers manners, spake in time past by the prophets," and some of the forms in which he so spake will be found to belong to both of the categories included in the above theories. The *mode* in which God in any case reveals himself and his dispensations is incomparably less important than is the fact that he does it.

The word "inspiration" is here, as in many other cases, so used as to lead to a wrong conception of the thing indicated. It seems to be thought of as a force like gravity or magnetism, which may vary in its intensity, and be present in greater or less degrees in different instances; and accordingly some parts of Scripture are absurdly spoken of as being more inspired than others. Inspiration, in respect to its efficiency, is the divine mind communicating thoughts and purposes to the human consciousness, and hence, as to its source, it is unchangeably infinite, but it is conditioned, in its manifestations, "according to the will of God." In some cases, as in the words of Christ, and in not a few utterances of the prophets and apostles, the divine lesson comes to us directly and unmixed, while in others it is mingled with human admixtures, and is presented in a human setting, yet so manifested that the quickened spiritual instincts readily apprehend and appropriate its teachings; and the written word is the record of the divine manifestations of the dispensations of Heaven to mankind, whether in revelations made to persons, or as indicated in the affairs of peoples and communities. The reviewer with sufficient clearness indicates Professor Ladd's defective notions, but though presumably dissenting, yet his dissent is either left to be inferred, or at most is only hinted, and the views presented are almost never directly antagonized; as if the statement of an incorrect opinion were its sufficient refutation, or else that to oppose the truth to a pernicious error were a breach of courtesy. Professor Ladd states and elaborates the thought that while all spiritual truth comes from God to man, that which is recorded in the Bible differs in no important sense from that which is given to all the

faithful at all times, so dispensing with the sole authority of the written word, and, indeed, rendering it, though still useful, yet not essential to the knowledge of God and his salvation; and his statements are here reproduced without being directly controverted. Again, the distinction between *inspiration* and *revelation* is emphasized, shutting up the sense of the former to the subjective state of the soul, by which it is made capable of receiving the truth, while by the latter term is indicated the objective truth given by God to man. The distinction may be both real and valuable; but in its ordinary and almost universal use, the former term covers both these ideas. The idea of the inspiration of the Bible as generally entertained by the learned, as well as the unlearned, includes both the divine activity in revealing, and the supernatural apprehension by the human consciousness of truths and doctrines which men could not otherwise attain to. Both the things revealed and the modes of their revelation are unique; they are given in their own peculiar way, and for that reason they are especially profitable to men.

CHRISTIAN (CAMPBELLITE) QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1884. (Columbia, Mo.)—1. Genuineness of the Second Epistle of Peter; by Prof. J. W. M'Garvey. 2. Hermeneutical Criticism; by B. U. Watkins. 3. The Gift of the Holy Spirit, (Acts ii. 38, 39;) by Hon. James Beatty. 4. The Epistle of Paul to the Romans: A Paraphrase, with Notes; by Pres. B. R. Dungan. 5. The Church in its Idea and its Form; by Pres. W. K. Pendleton. 6. The New Congregational Creed; by J. Z. Tyler. 7. What is the Church of Christ? and What are its Numbers? by Pres. F. M. Bruner. 8. The Temptation of Jesus; by J. W. Monsor. 9. The Divine Mystery; by Henry Schell Lobingen. 10. Book Notices.

Article 8 of the above, though brief, is a spirited paper, and as wholesome as it is vivacious; and, with other papers in this "Review," it clearly indicates a most gratifying tendency in the body that it represents to a wholesome orthodoxy in respect to some of the most important articles of the Christian faith. The following respecting the contact between Christ and "the Tempter" is certainly a happy putting of the case:

Baffled humanity, writhing under the captivity of Satan, is now to renew its courage and inspirations by following One who, ever having done the will of his heavenly Father, comes not to this tremendous but necessary contest pliant and weak, but capable of coping with principalities and powers in high places. Such strength does one derive from constant obedience to the divine will. Nor must we be afraid to face this fact of God—the putting Satan to work on the character and life of Jesus. Augustine

often used to say, that the entire history, moral and spiritual, of the world, revolves around two persons, Adam and Christ. Certainly, as to temptation, its origin, onset, victory, defeat, destruction, and the like, much devolves on them. The invasion of Adam is the prophesy of the invasion of Jesus. The maintenance of position, given of God, in which Adam proved such a failure was verily nipping the hopes of mankind in the bud; the interposition of Jesus, and the issue he joins with the Adversary, is as a new lease of those hopes, or, more correctly, the implanting of a new and better hope. It was no extraordinary thing for Satan to attack the Son of Man; nor was it extraordinary for the Spirit to lead Jesus into the wilderness for this purpose. "Hast thou considered my servant Job?" asked God of Satan hundreds of years previous to this. A careful study of the Scriptures will satisfy any one of the place filled by Satan in the drama of mankind. There is a dark and mysterious element in man's life and history, a casting down and an elevation, a moral ebb and flow, which nothing else can explain save this constant wrestle with Satan. . . . Whether God sent Satan into this world, originally, on a mission to man, is not a question that necessarily forces itself on one by positions already taken in this article; since it is the purpose of God to wrest evil into the service of good. Satan was evidently in the world, and for the purpose of mischief. God utilizes him in the interest of man. Under the divine guidance, he is made a factor in the formation of moral character.

To this it may be pertinent to add another quotation, from another source, which may also cast light upon this great mystery of Christ's temptation and victory in the wilderness:

If we consider the three specific temptations of Christ, it will readily appear that they all related directly to his Messianic character and mission. This, probably, was the fact in respect to all his temptations during his forty days' sojourn in the wilderness. He had gone through all the temptations of private life during his abode in Galilee, and had preserved his integrity in them all; but his new conditions, and the tremendous truth of his high calling to rescue a ruined world and to fulfill all the work appointed to the Messiah, raised new thoughts and called for new purposes and modes of action for the accomplishment of that work. These brought with them their momentary doubtings and perplexities; perhaps, also, hesitations as to methods, though certainly not as to the simplicity and steadiness of his purpose to "fulfill all righteousness"—to do only the will of the Father. In the three specified temptations their Messianic relations are clearly obvious, and their real nature can be properly appreciated only as they are so considered. They were, (1) to use his divinity for personal ends; (2) to demonstrate his Messiahship by "signs;" (3) to conciliate the enemy in bringing in the kingdom of God.

American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal, July, 1884. (Chicago.) — 1. Lectures on Polytheism, (III:) by F. G. Fleay. 2. Schliemann at Ilium; by A. C. Merriam. 3. The Myths of the Raccoon and the Crawfish, among the Dakota Tribes; by J. H. Dorsey. 4. Antiquities of Mexico, (II;) by L. P. Gratacap. 5. Life among the Mandans; by Edward D. Neill. 6. Emblematical Mounds, Bird Effigies; by Stephen D. Peet. 7. Among the Mounds., (Editorial.) Notes on Classic Archæology. Notes from Oriental Periodicals. Notes on American Archæology, (Mound Builders, etc.) Book Reviews.

The most interesting feature of this number is what is given respecting the mounds found in the Ohio Valley and along the Upper Mississippi. These have been known from the earliest occupation of these parts by white men, but they have been strangely neglected by antiquarians and all classes of men of science. Indeed, until comparatively recently their antiquarian value had not been generally recognized, and so able a writer as Mr. George Bancroft writing of these land-marks, speaks of them as probably caused by running water. It is now well ascertained, however, that they were constructed for purpose of sepulture, and many of them have been opened and found to contain human bones, pottery, and charred wood. But most who have engaged in this work of excavation have known nothing of the historical and ethnological value of these things, and so the mounds have been destroyed, and their contents carried away as curiosities, and lost or broken up. It is well that attention has at length been called to the subject, and it may be hoped that enough may be rescued from destruction to serve as a helpful guide in the exploration of the obscure but interesting science of the older American archæology, and also to give some intelligent conjectures respecting the races that inhabited these regions before the advent of the red men. That they were not of our Indian race is quite certain, for the traditions of these tell nothing about the Mound Builders, whose civilization was both higher and generically diverse from their more barbarous successors.

Baptist Quarterly Review, July, August, September, 1884. (Cincinnati.) 1. The Epistle to the Hebrews and the First Epistle of John; by Professor W. N. Clarke. 2. Ignatius Loyola; by Rev. J. R. Henderson. 3. Primitive Man: by Prof. E. L. Hicks. 4. The Christian Church Archetype; by Rev. E. J. Fisk. 5. Baptists and Liberty of Conscience; by Henry C. Vedder. 6. The Sources of "The Teaching of the Apostles;" by Prof. J. C. Long. 7. Book Reviews and Notices.

The sixth of the articles in the Baptist Quarterly, on "The Teaching," is a notable illustration of the influence of pre-

possession to modify evidence. Because it seems to show that in the ancient Church the distinction of the orders of bishops, priests, and deacons in the Christian ministry was not only not accepted as of divine authority, but it was probably quite unknown, therefore High-Church Episcopalians must discredit it as either a forgery or the production of an heretical sect. And because it points out an acceptable form of bapism, otherwise than by immersion, therefore the Baptists are in duty bound to show that its authority is very small. It is well known that considerable parts of "The Teaching" are also found in other patristic documents, and therefore it is assumed that the former was drawn from the latter, and of course of later date, and so possessed of comparatively little authority. But it may be urged, on the contrary, that very clearly the more brief and simple document, which indicates a less fully developed liturgical tendency, is the original and more trustworthy paper. Expert testimony is at best of not the highest value; and when it is known that the affiant comes to his duty with strong predilections toward one side rather than the other, his opinion becomes comparatively worthless. In this case, therefore, both prelatists and immersionists must be asked to stand aside as disqualified for judging on the points at issue.

CATHOLIC WORLD. (Monthly.) July, 1884. (New York.)—1. Mexico of To-day; by Bryan J. Clinche. 2. Is the American Republic an Anomaly in History? by Thomas Felton. 3. A Tragi-Comedy; by Maurice F. Egan. 4. The Last Night of a Martyr; by M. A. Allies. 5. Phillis Wheatley, the Negro Poet; by Rev. John Slatterly. 6. The Agotae of the Pyrenean Provinces; by Raymond-Barker. 7. A Lesson of Life; by A. Repplier. 8. The Irish Women of Shakespeare; by C. M. O'Keefe. 9. Katharine, chaps. v, vi; by E. G. Martin. 10. The Religion of Ancient Egypt; by Rev. J. Nilan.

August.—1. Solitary Island, chaps. i–iv; by Rev. J. Talbot Smith. 2. Phases of Faith and Unfaith. 3. Ta-wan-dah the Last of the Pecos; by Very Rev. J. H. Defouri. 4. Two Miraculous Conversions from Judaism; by Rev. A. Hewitt. 5. Concerning Sir Walter Raleigh; by Margaret F. Sullivan. 6. Cattle Ranch Life in Colorado; by W. T. Larned. 7. Ruskin, as a Teacher; by Agnes Repplier. 8. Katharine, chaps. vii-ix; by E. G. Martin. 9. The Curse of Monarchy and Aristocracy in Great Britain; by W. F. Dennehy. 10. Who Could have Taken it? 11. New Publications.

September, 1884.—1. Contemporaneous China; by Alfred M. Cotte. 2. My Son of Age, (from the Celtic;) by Alfred M. Williams. 3. Philistia; by Maurice F. Egan. 4. Unitarian Belief; by H. L. Richards. 5. Solitary Island, chaps. v–viii; by Rev. J. Talbot Smith. 6. With the Carlists; by John Augustine O'Shea. 7. The Oratory in London; by Mrs. Charles Kent. 8. Katharine, chaps. x–xii; by E. G. Martin. 9. The Liquification of the Blood of St. Januarius; by L. B. Binuse. 10. New Publications.

The article on the "Blood of St. Januarius" is characteristic, and proves what we have said in another place, that the Church

of Rome abates nothing of its highest and most absurd pretensions of a thousand years ago. Probably there is no more patent falsehood in all the list of "lying wonders" by which the Romish Church beguiles its unreasoning dupes than this St. Januarius affair; but still it will not do for an "infallible" Church to confess its own past impositions, nor will it forego its gains, and therefore the falsehood must be perpetuated and reiterated. The victims of these practices may be entitled to our pity; but quite another sentiment must be entertained toward those who love and make a lie.

## *English Reviews.*

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1884. (London.)—1. Mr. Browning. 2. Italian University Life in the Middle Ages. 3. Privileges and Aristocracy. 4. John Wycliffe, Precursor of the Reformation. 5. The Speculative Philosophy of Religion. 6. Natural Law in the Spiritual World. 7. English Policy in the Soudan and Egypt. 8. Political Survey of the Quarter. 9. Contemporary Literature.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW. (American Edition.) July, 1884. (New York.)—1. Municipal London. 2. Modern Spanish Literature. 3. The Romance and Reality of American Railroads. 4. Peter the Great. 5. England and her Second Colonial Empire. 6. The Three Poems "In Memoriam." 7. Greek Archæology: Mr. Fergeson's Parthenon, and Temple of Diana. 8. The West Indies and the Sugar Bounties. 9. Redistribution and Representative Democracy. 10. Mr. Gladstone's Foreign Policy.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, OR CRITICAL JOURNAL, (American Edition.) July, 1884. (New York.)—1. Memoirs of M. de Vitrolles. 2. Lightning Conductors. 3. The Chiefs of Grant. 4. The Divorce of Catharine of Aragon. 5. Life of Montstuart Elphinstone. 6. The Future of Congo. 7. Life and Opinions of Frederic Maurice. 8. John Sebastian Bach. 11. Heffter's International Law.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW. July, 1884. (London.)—1. The Old Testament and Human Sacrifices: by Rev. C. H. H. Wright, D.D., Belfast. 2. The Life and Works of Torquato Tasso; by Rev. Hugh Maxmillan, D.D., LL.D., Greenock. 3. The Rev. Adolph Sydow and the Scottish Church Question: A Resuscitation; by Principal Cairns, Edinburgh. 4. Protestant Missions: Their Ideal and its Realization; by John Robson, D.D., Aberdeen. 5. The Consensus of the Reformed Confessions; by Rev. A. A. Hodge, LL.D., Princeton, N. J. 6. Professor Robertson Smith's Lectures on the Prophets of Israel; by Rev. I. E. Dwinell, D.D., Oakland, Cal. 7. Wiclif and Huss; by Principal Brow, Aberdeen. 8. Samuel Rutherford; by Professor Graham, D.D., London. 9. Current Literature.

The fifth of the last list of articles, by Rev. A. A. Hodge, of Princeton, is a reprint from the (American) Presbyterian Review of April last, and was written and published, it may be presumed, with the expectation that it would somewhat influence the action of the then approaching Pan-Presbyterian Council, that met in Belfast last August. The first meeting

of that Council, in 1876, brought into notice the two facts, before very well known, (1) that most of the Presbyterian Churches and denominations, both those in Europe and in America, are at one in most of the essential doctrines of Christianity, and yet that within this general unity there is, nevertheless, very considerable differences in the modes of defining their common doctrinal opinions; and (2) that in the popular teaching of nearly all Presbyterian Churches their distinctive doctrines are seldom or never heard, and that many of both the ministry and the laity of these Churches feel that their traditional creeds are not in harmony with their religious thinking. The recognition of these things led to the attempt to have their objectionable features removed, by providing a "*Consensus* of Doctrines," which would express the real convictions of the Presbyterians of the present age, and to which all classes and sections of that order of Christians might freely and heartily consent. A committee was accordingly appointed to prepare such a basis of agreement, for the consideration of the next quadrennial Council, but, as might have been expected, the only practical result was the discovery that the work given them could not be done. All felt the infelicities of the case, but nobody could find out a remedy.

Presbyterianism, though originally only a form of ecclesiastical polity, has become by usage synonymous with Calvinism, and accordingly, among the requisites for admission to the Council was the profession of the Calvinistic faith; and it was conceded that the various symbols of doctrines of the so-called "Reformed" Churches of the continent of Europe, together with the Westminster Confession, may be accepted as embodiments of that system of doctrine. It might have seemed, therefore, that with such a substantial unity in their original doctrinal standards a common basis might have been readily agreed upon, but the difficulty was found to be of another kind. The convictions of the great body of the Presbyterians, throughout the world, are no longer in harmony with the doctrines that were firmly held by their theological ancestors, and which are set forth with unmistakable clearness in their creeds and confessions. The distinctive doctrines of the Presbyterian Churches, as defined in their official formularies of faith, and as they were clearly announced in public and private down to the

time of the grandparents of the present generation, are no longer heard from their pulpits, and their ministers have either departed from the faith of their fathers, or else they have consented to hide in silence what they believe to be the truth of God. These facts place those Churches in a most undesirable dilemma; either they must revise their creeds, which nobody accepts in their obvious grammatical sense, so as to conform to the beliefs of those who use them, which it is conceded is impossible—and so the public teachings of the Churches must be something quite another than that which their official creeds confessedly set forth, which would involve an immorality, or else they must torture the plain and unmistakable language of the confessions that it shall convey meanings which the authors of those venerated forms knew only to reject and execrate, which is scarcely less objectionable. The former of these methods is that adopted by the great body of Presbyterian ministers, and one no longer expects to hear the distinctive doctrines of Calvinism from any Presbyterian pulpit. The other alternative, which Dr. Hodge seems to approve, is to force a construction upon the words used, in open contradiction to both their grammatical and their historical meaning. This has been formally done by the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, so that while the Confession, to the unsophisticated reader, teaches high Calvinism, the grave divines assure us that it really means just what Arminians have always been teaching.

We are bound whenever possible to give to every man credit for sincerity, which we do in this case, otherwise we might suspect a lack of candor in those who claim that the whole category of evangelical doctrines, commonly designated "the doctrines of grace," belong as a special possession to Calvinism. The doctrine of original sin, with its entailment of universal condemnation, and of entire hopelessness except through the *prevenient* grace of the Spirit, belongs to Wesleyan Arminianism as really as to Calvinism, and therefore these doctrines and all that they imply must be excluded from the *differentia* which contradistinguish the two systems. In a properly guarded sense non-Calvinists may subscribe to the doctrine of "election" and "predestination," but not as *unconditional decrees*. The divine sovereignty is as precious a truth to

others as to Calvinists; but with those that sovereignty involves nothing of the character of a remorseless despotism. Properly understood, Arminians will not hesitate to say that only through "regenerating" grace actually received can any man repent and turn to God; but they will also say that this "preventing grace" by which the sinner turns to God is itself an incipient regeneration, and that this is given to every man "to profit withal." The real difference between the two systems is that one asserts that grace is both unconditional in its workings and irresistible in its progress; that God alone is active in man's salvation, which is perfected without human co-operation, except as such action is irresistibly compelled.

Both Calvinists and Arminians hold and teach the doctrine of the freedom of the will; but while the former hold to only a *modal* freedom, moving only as impelled *ab extra*, the latter believes in a real self-determination, which may be *persuaded*, but cannot be *compelled*.

It may be granted that philosophically and logically Calvinism may be a simpler and even a more rationalistic system than its opposite; but the ultimate outcome of its logic is too horrible to be contemplated. It certainly is no part of the theology of the heart, and it is well that it is no longer heard in the pulpits of evangelical Christendom.

London Quarterly Review, (Wesleyan,) July, 1884. 1. Free Education. 2. A French Critic on Democracy. 3. The Sunday-school System of Methodism. 4. Lord Lyndhurst. 5. Aid to Preaching. 6. Holiness and Righteousness. 7. Frederic Denison Maurice. 8. General Gordon. 9. Short Reviews and Brief Notices. Summaries of Foreign Periodicals.

The first article in the above, manifestly the production of a pen pretty well known by American Methodist readers, for his speech "bewrays" him, is a strangely sophistical, one-sided, and incorrect tirade against "free education," as established in this country, and in the more liberally governed States of Europe. It is fallacious, because it assumes that all public provisions for private convenience or advantage is an injustice to the taxpayer and a degradation to the receiver—a principle which, if applied at all points, would not only do away with free sittings in places of worship, and all forms of endowments for religious or benevolent purposes, except as paid for at full cost, but would also require that there shall be no free highways or bridges, but that tolls shall every-where be levied and collected, in proper

tion to the cost of making and maintaining such "improvements." Clearly the principle so applied proves too much, and any conclusion drawn from it is wholly unreliable. The facts or assumptions of the article, where not untrue, give only one side of the cases brought into notice, and the omission or ignoring of the facts which belong to the subjects in hand render the presentation of the case wholly untruthful, and the conclusions worthless because essential factors are omitted from the problem. The statements of what are assumed to be facts, especially in respect to matters connected with the workings of the public school system of this country, are in many cases so entirely incorrect as to deprive them of any value as grounds of argument. Evidently there is an animus in the article that springs from some unrevealed cause which, at our distance, cannot be clearly understood. Possibly our school system would not be the very best for Great Britain, and if not they do well not to adopt it; but the best friends of education very generally approve it, not as faultless, but the best available for our people, and, so believing, who shall deny us the privilege of using it?

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1884. (Leonard Scott Publishing Company, Philadelphia.) 1. Codification of English Law: A Prospect. 2. The Myth of Simon Magus. 3. Corea. 4. The Christian Harem. 5. The River Congo, and the Proposed Congo Treaty. 6. William IV. 7. The Woman Question in Europe. Contemporary Literature: 1. Theology. 2. Philosophy. 3. Politics, Sociology, Voyages and Travels. 4. Science. 5. History and Biography. 6. Belles-Lettres. Our Colonial Empire.

The Westminster has long stood in the foremost rank of the periodical literature of the English language, in respect to learning and literary ability, but it is always intensely, and, indeed, offensively, anti-Christian. Usually each number has its specifically infidel paper, which place in this issue is occupied by the second article, "The Myth of Simon Magus." It is of that class of writings whose absurd fallaciousness was demonstrated and rendered ridiculous by the late Archbishop Whately in his "Myth of Napoleon Bonaparte."

The article on "The Christian Harem" is a scathing exhibition of the soullessness of the popular morality respecting masculine unchastity. It might serve as a "campaign document" in the current canvass; and as such our specially pure-spoken dailies would perhaps refuse to print it.

INDIAN QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1884. (Calcutta.)—1. The Hindus in the Punjab; by Denzil C. Ibbetsen, (Lahore.) 2. Salt Consumption and Revenue; by Rev. S. Mateer, (Trevandrum.) 3. Christianity in Eastern Bengal; by the Editor. 4. Krishna Pariksha, or Kriskna Tested; by Rev. J. J. Lucas, (Moinpuri.) 5. A Missionary Charge to a General Assembly of Ministers and Missionaries; by Rev. H. Jessup, D.D., (Syrian Mission.) 6. Notices of Books. 7. Notes and Intelligence.

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LA NUOVA SCIENZA, Anno I, Fasciala II, Apriele, Maggio, Giugno, 1884. (Todi, Umbria.) 1. Il Benvenuto degli Scienziate a Noi. 2. L'Ordierno Pensiero Italiano. 3. La Formala Pitagorica della Cosmica Evoluzione. 4. L'Evoluzione Anticlericale Germanica Confrontata con l'Italiana. 5. Nota Filosofiche della Singole Scienze. Notizie Bibliografiche. Varieta.

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## *German Reviews.*

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN, (Theological Essays and Reviews.) 1884. Fourth Number.—*Essays:* 1. LOOFS. The Importance of the Doctrine of Justification in the Defense of the Symbolics of the Lutheran Churches. 2. SIEGFRIED. The Significance of the Jerusalemic Temple in the Old Testament Religion. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. MEINKE, The Platonic and New Testament Idea of the σώτηρ. 2. WARTH and LÖCKLE. On the ἄρτος ἐπιούσιος in the Lord's Prayer. *Reviews:* KÖLLING, History of the Arian Heresy; reviewed by MOLLER.

KIRCHLICHE MONATSCHRIFT, (Church Monthly.) 1884. Ninth Number.—1. SCHULZE. The Church and Politics. 2. EISELEN, The Duty of our Protestant Church at the Present and the "Positive-Union Party." 3. MARTIUS, The Special Task of the Home Mission in the Newly-awakened Conflict against Drunkenness. 4. KROMPHARDT, The "Proof-Bible." 5. Spring Meeting of the Friends of the "Positive-Union" in Halle in Saxony. Monthly Review.

Prof. Smend, of Basle, has a very interesting article in the *Studien und Kritiken* on "The Significance of the Jerusalemic Temple in the Old Testament Religion." With no other sacred place in the world has there been connected so much devotion, veneration, and love as the Jew cherished toward Mount Zion. For never has any religious community felt with more intensity and warmth than the Jewish, and never had any sacred spot more significance than this, for the religious life. Without it neither were the growth nor the continuance of that community conceivable which was formed in Judea after the Babylonic exile. But it is impossible to have a proper conception of this piety after the exile without closely considering its manifold relation to the temple. And furthermore, the history of the temple is far from being the history of the Old Testament religion. Nevertheless, it is useful, for the proper comprehension of this question, to inquire how the

temple gained its immense importance, and how this, at a later period, was lost. These are the points that are discussed at great length and with marked acumen in this article. The author endeavors to show in the history of the temple how its great worth for the peculiarity of the Old Testament religion came to be expressed, and how, on the other hand, the temple became a mighty vehicle of religious life.

Toward the close of the discussion the author makes the assertion that Mount Zion was the most important reality which the true faith possessed on earth. When the temple had fallen into ruins, it appeared how greatly this sacred mountain was the central point, even for the prophets, and an anchor of their hopes for the future. The ancient people and the ancient state were forever annihilated; for that period, at least, their restoration was inconceivable. Nothing but a religious community could arise from the ruins which was necessarily to be cemented by worship around Mount Zion, and, though the Jews still hoped for the worldly rule of Israel, it was impossible to expect to produce this by a development of political power; but Israel thought it had a glorious *future* before it as the only possessor of the true faith. By the conversion of all the heathen, Jerusalem was to become the most magnificent city of the entire world, in which should live a nation of nothing but kings. In the interim the temple was to be no longer the most important support of Judaism. This support was now to be transferred to the sacred writings; that is, to the law and the prophets. They had found in the written word of God a higher and better guarantee for the faith than even the temple and Mount Zion could lastingly offer them. Therefore the existence of Judaism was not called into question by the fall of the temple. But the fulfillment of the hope of a Messiah was thereby removed to a great distance, and thereby zealotry was suppressed, while Judaism lost the last remnant of its political character, and became confessedly nothing but a religious sect. The thought of the temple and Jerusalem then retained its significance only for the future; for the Jewish future can never dispense with this hope. The fall of the temple was, nevertheless, in the highest degree fatal to Judaism, for with it was connected the central thought and moving principle of the spiritual life of the Jews.

Another characteristic article for this Review is that concerning the true meaning of the Greek words, ἄρτος ἐπιούσιος, used in the Lord's Prayer for our ordinary expression of "*daily bread.*" Nearly fifty years ago an article in this same journal by a German theologian spoke of the many heroes of philological and theological learning who have written largely regarding the true conception of this word. And from that time to this it seems that discussion and controversy have not been able to settle and absolutely fix its true definition. This is the author's apology for venturing on another effort to find out the exact meaning of that one word. To do this he enters the etymological field and marshals up a number of words which may or may not have had an influence on the true significance of the one now used in the Greek text of the Lord's Prayer.

We cannot undertake to follow the author in this intricate and learned excursus, but will simply say that the trouble of German theologians seems to be the uncertainty as to whether the expression "daily bread" means simply the food of the current day or the food that we need *day by day.* The author contends that the term at present used in the Greek indicates the bread required for the day on which the prayer is uttered, and maintains also that this expression is more in harmony with the Lord's Prayer as our *daily* morning prayer than any other. And he goes on to say: "One could, indeed, pray for the *daily needed* food and that for the future, but if we pray for the bread for the present commencing day we are thereby admonished that to-morrow we must again offer the same prayer, confining that to the new day." The author has no sympathy with the explanation of some theologians, that this "daily bread" refers to spiritual food, and declares this to be a monstrous perversion of language. He insists that the petition is made absolutely for, and in regard to, bodily nourishment, and is thereby strengthened in his conception of the true meaning of the word "daily." The author also appeals to Luther's translation, which indicates simply the bread required for the current day, and cannot be understood as extending beyond that, and suggests the probability that the use of the word in question indicates that our Saviour pronounced this prayer in the early morning.

## *French Reviews.*

REVUE CHRETIENNE, (Christian Review.) May, 1884.—1. ASTIE, The Fear of the Protestant Principle in the Ranks of French Protestantism. 2. E. W., A Psychological Critic. 3. SABATIER, M. Pasteur. 4. E. DE PRESSENSÉ, Review of the Month.

June, 1884. 1. FALLOT, The Piety which Protests. 2. BRIDEL, Determinism and the Religion of the Present Epoch. 3. ***, A Visit to Maennedorf. 4. PRADEZ, Tear and Dew—a Poem. 5. GUERLE, Necrology. Review of the Month.

July, 1884.—1. ST. ANDRE, The Conquest of Africa. 2. CLOTILDE REY, Some of the Pictures of the Last *Salon*. 3. STAPIER, Theological Chronicles. 4. Bibliographical Bulletin. Monthly Review by E. DE PRESSENSE.

The present numbers of the *Revue* are more than ordinarily marked for their special attention to popular and practical subjects. The hero of the hour among the French scientific experimenters is M. Pasteur, to whom Sabatier, in the May number, pays a very flattering tribute. The life of the great scientist has just been given to the world in a small volume, entitled "History of a Learned Man by an Ignorant One." The author is not named, but the attribute which he so modestly assumes indicates him to be the son-in-law, companion, and assistant of the distinguished savant. Thus the complete familiarity between the author and his subject enables the former to be a perfect mouth-piece for the latter, and to present him to the world just as he is, and acts, and thinks.

One day at the Academy of Sciences, one of Pasteur's colleagues, while hearing him explain the mode of some of his marvelous discoveries, involuntarily exclaimed: "That is a romance; it is too beautiful to be true!" Experience has since converted the skeptic, and has proved that in the line of wonders the science of to-day is more fertile than imagination; and Pasteur, after a long line of struggles and trials, has come out quite triumphant in developing a new order of existences hitherto unsuspected by the world. He commenced his peculiar line of experiments in the matter of decomposition and fermentation, and as the result of a series of simple and exact experiments he perceived in each fermentation the existence and action of vegetations, or microscopic beings, that accomplish this transformation. But these infinitely little existences are a mystery. Whence do they come? Are they formed of themselves, or do they proceed from germs? And thus Pasteur found himself face to face with the problem of spontaneous

generations. While absorbed with these studies the first chemist of France begged him to examine the disease of the silk-worms. This he did with so much success that silk growers are now able by means of the microscope to separate the diseased eggs from the healthy, and thus to cultivate only what is valuable. His next experiments were on the blood of diseased animals, and in these he ultimately found that the principle of the virus is an animalcule, which he denominates a microbe. He again finds out an antidote to this virus, and with it inoculates the infected animals. Thus by vaccine matter Pasteur becomes master of most of the diseases that are the enemy of the stock-raiser; and it is said that to-day, in France, more than 400,000 head of cattle are inoculated. For a long time surrounding European nations were incredulous as to his discoveries, but Huxley finally declared that their value to France would alone suffice to pay the five milliards of war indemnity to Germany.

Since that time Pasteur has extended his investigations to epidemic diseases of the human system, and the most incredulous have been obliged to yield to the evidence of facts. The savant is now pursuing his studies, making the yellow fever, the cholera, and hydrophobia the special subjects of his investigation. His very last triumph was a victory over the latter disease, for he is now inoculating members of the canine race with an antidote to their most terrible disease, and he seems confident of success. Sabatier, the author of this article, while treating it historically and scientifically, has, nevertheless, uppermost in his mind the very interesting fact to a Christian man that this great savant is not a materialist, and this is his very logical reason for treating at large a subject that at first sight may not seem to be at home in the pages of a religious magazine. But Pasteur was recently honored with an election to the most distinguished literary body of France, namely, the French Academy, and on the occasion of his induction to that body he made a most magnificent profession of spiritual and religious faith—virtually asking the question why genuine science should not be religious. The microscope of Pasteur has revealed to us the unknown world of the infinitely small, as the telescope and astronomical calculations have revealed to us the world of the infinitely great. And as Pasteur has pro-

ceeded from triumph to triumph with his microscope, guided by an almost inspired genius, he has seen more and more of a divine Creator whose all-pervading power reaches a depth of littleness incomprehensible to man. The Christian world in France finds with him strong support, for which it fully honors him.

The Monthly Review of the July number indicates that its author accepts with great satisfaction the recent action of the Senate on the new law of divorce, recently passed by both sections of the parliamentary body. One very offensive article in the civil code of France was that declaring that the husband might commit adultery with impunity. When the new law was first presented to the Senate for discussion, an attempt was made to have this disgraceful clause erased, but it was retained, after a bitter discussion, by quite a large majority. When the law came up for a second reading, Pressensé again offered an amendment abolishing this clause, which was strongly supported by other senators, to whom the idea that there should be a morality of one sex different from that of the other was quite revolting, although the sentiment of it seemed deeply inrooted in French manners. The partisans for the immunity of the stronger sex showed great irritation in the course of the discussion, and were strongly supported by the loose and immoral press. But the result was on the side of justice.

The semi-official synod of the "Reformed Church" of France recently held its annual convocation at Nantes. More than four hundred churches were regularly represented. A very excellent spirit, one of large piety and good accord, reigned during the entire session; a very pleasant feature of which was the fact that the "free Churches" of France, Switzerland, England, and America were also represented by delegates, who came with generous sympathies and kind words, and were warmly welcomed. This semi-official synod is called so because it is a voluntary combination of the orthodox portion of the "Reformed Church," and therefore its acts are binding only on those who choose to become members of that body. As this synod grows in importance and numbers it feels more and more the need of a complete independence from the State. But this can be gained only at the risk of losing its portion of the annual appropriations. To supplement these, eighty

thousand francs were collected last year for the cause of education and for subventions to those whom the State too meagerly pays. There was a growing disposition among the members of the body to train their churches as rapidly as possible to the point of effecting a deliverance from the State by raising their own funds and paying their own way in independence.

## Art. XI.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

### THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION OF FRANCE.

This now famous association for the spread of French Protestantism held its recent annual meeting in Marseilles; and the contrast between its early beginnings and its present stature and vigor is very gratifying. In the year 1833, when there seemed to be a religious awakening and inquiry after the true faith, an anonymous letter in the "Archives du Christianisme" brought together a few believing men who founded an association whose object was declared to be the spread of the Gospel in France. And this young society found unexpected sympathy and coworkers, not only in France, but also in foreign lands, such as Switzerland, England, Ireland, and America. Branch associations soon sprang up in other French cities, and Protestants, of whose existence men had no suspicion, were discovered by the messengers of this body, and frequently entire families and groups were discovered through the pastoral work and again united to the Protestant Church, and conversions from the Catholic Church also gave testimony that the power and blessing of God were with this people.

But these joyful results were not without antagonism and trouble, which, however, became, in the hands of God, the means of a deeper experience. The French Protestants were poor, and their needs were beyond their means. A deficit occurred from year to year which has followed them down to the present day, but in their darkest hour Providence has ever been to them both silver and gold. What was more unfortunate for them was the persecution from the state authorities. The principle of religious liberty was acknowledged in theory, but in practice was withheld from this very small Protestant minority. Their meetings were forbidden or violently dissolved, their itinerant evangelists and colporteurs were punished with fine and imprisonment, and every pressure and inducement was brought to bear in order to force back their converts into the Catholic Church. These vexatious and unlawful proceedings were continued under the *régime* of the third Napoleon, under whom the friendship of the Catholic clergy was the *sine qua non* for political preferment. In spite of all this the development of the association was rapid and healthy; the first three years its income arose

from 7,000 to 48,000 francs, and the number of active workers from 11 to 51. Chapels were opened in a great variety of places. But the joyful increase of the association received a hard blow after ten years of existence. The insufficient income forced a reduction of the active agents, and for a time the enemies triumphed.

But the Lord was again with them, and in the following year the union counted again 77 colporteurs, evangelists, and pastors in its service, and a year later not less than 137. The gospel spirit seized whole families, and at times whole communities. Then came the revolution of 1848, with its anxieties and financial depression; the society was almost ruined. But in the epoch of their greatest need a sincere friend gave them about 100,000 francs, and other gifts came to them even from distant Russia. The Napoleonic period was one of vexatious and brutal outrages; not even a religious meeting was allowed without the sanction of the police, and their schools, chapels, and other places of assemblage were violently closed. This lasted for some ten years, and all without any justice, or cause, or judicial decision. Then, as did the Huguenots of old, so did they hold their divine service in retired forests. The faithful were determined to hold their ground in spite of all the disadvantages which they were called on to suffer, and they remained faithful till the end. But at last this period of hostility passed by. In the year 1863 M. V. de Pressensé, who had become old and wearied, laid down his leadership, which was taken up by the faithful and active George Fish, and held until his death in 1881. Now, after fifty years of activity, the association is in a very flourishing condition, and may God bless its future work in France!

## A NEW LEAGUE IN SWITZERLAND.

For the last few years Switzerland has experienced a great deal of trouble with her churches and her schools. About a year and a half ago the Salvation Army opened there its campaign, which has contributed not a little to this agitation and irritation. The antagonism in Switzerland between the National Church and the Free Church, as well as the various sectarian organizations, render it a soil where such an innovation might count on success, and in the beginning these Salvationists met with more countenance than was acceptable to the earnest Christians of the land. But as soon as they began their noisy public demonstrations, they were violently opposed by all who were indifferent or hostile to Christianity, and the result was violence on the public street and attacks on the houses wherein the Salvation meetings were being held; and this spirit of violence finally so excited the unruly that even innocent temperance meetings were the victims of attack and outrage. The cantonal and police authorities remained for a time indifferent to these excesses, but at last they were forced to take cognizance of them and forbid their meetings. In this latter measure they went so far as to prohibit their assembling in private houses, which gave rise to the

conviction that the free exercise of religion in Switzerland might ultimately be endangered by this measure.

All this induced a number of liberal Christian men of French Switzerland to assemble in Lausanne and establish a "League of Common Justice" that is to extend over all Switzerland. The object of this League is, according to its statutes, "The defense of individual liberty and of all those rights which are guaranteed by the Swiss Constitution." It belongs to no political or religious party, and will reach its goal through the press, public meetings, and all constitutional ways and means. It has published a long list of all occurrences and excesses that have taken place at these Salvation meetings, and have sent it to the national authorities, and it hopes that they may be induced to listen to these complaints and take measures for the exercise of religious liberty in Switzerland, which it now considers endangered. In principle every earnest Christian is in sympathy with the desire of liberty of conscience and religious exercise in Switzerland, but many greatly deplore the *modus operandi* of the Salvation Army. Article 50 of the national Constitution declares that "The free exercise of religious worship is guaranteed within those limits which are conducive to public order and good morals." But it is questionable whether public order, at least, is not greatly disturbed by the demonstrations of the Salvation Army, and it is therefore a question whether this League will find its labor crowned with success.

## CHRISTIAN BENEVOLENCE IN POMPEII.

The fearful earthquake last year in Ischia called forth endless ways as a means to gather funds for the relief of the suffering. Some 5,000,000 of francs were collected from public lectures, dramatic festivals, lotteries, balls, concerts, etc., until at last all means of attraction were exhausted. Then an unheard-of enterprise was started which was nothing less than a "Pompeii Redivivus." In the great amphitheater among the ruins the gladiator fights of ancient times were restored, as well as the circus sports, wedding processions, and the funeral trains of the ancients, in which way the heathendom of old was again represented in images of the gods, with pagan priests and vessels for incense, and libations. Even the celebrated chariot races were restored, and the "Emperor Vespasian" condescended to be present at these sports. But the expense for all this was very heavy, amounting to 100,000 francs, while this new style of Christian benevolence only realized 30,000 francs, leaving a deficit of 70,000, for which the "aristocratic committee" now remains responsible. So Christianity has not gained much by this revival of heathen sports; and indeed, from recent discoveries, it was never much indebted to the gods of classic story.

From some of the most recent excavations among the ruins it seems quite clear that the inhabitants of Pompeii were acquainted with Christianity; and that they knew something of the Bible, especially of the Old Testament, appears from some of the fresco wall-paintings there uncovered.

One of these clearly refers to the Bible story of the judgment of King Solomon, the scene of which is represented thus in detail: The King is seated clothed in a white toga, with an upheld scepter in his left hand; on either side stands a minister, one clothed in a white toga, while the other is covered with a green garment. The chairs of these three are on a sort of terrace, behind which is a canopy, and soldiers are holding guard near by. On a table lies the child for whose possession the two mothers are contending. Near by is a soldier ready to execute the command of Solomon to cleave the child in two. Near the table is standing the false mother with a brazen expression, while the real mother is on her knees with uplifted hands appealing to the king. Standing round about is quite a crowd of people gazing curiously at the scene. And now the question arises why an artist of Pompeii should have been induced to depict a scene from the Bible. Was he a Christian or a Jew? A close inspection of the work will induce us to say that he was neither, for the whole is evidently a caricature. The principal personages of the scene are represented as pygmies, with large heads, plump bodies, and short legs. The table on which the child is lying is a butcher's block, the child itself is a distortion, and the butcher has a common cleaver; even he is represented as half-soldier and half-butcher, with a mighty head covered with an immense helmet, from which depends a stupendous horse-tail, so that the whole figure, and indeed the whole scene, induces laughter. The false mother is an extremely ludicrous figure with a broad countenance, and wearing an immense head-gear. The sorrowing mother seems to have been too much for the genial artist; she alone is free from caricature, to which even Solomon is subjected. If the picture is closely inspected it looks very coarse, and one would say that the artist had endeavored to show his rapidity rather than his skill of execution, but this may be said of many of the Pompeiian frescoes, which at a distance appear very artistic. It is a question among archæologists as to whether the artist intended to ridicule the Bible story as such, or whether it was only an outburst of his genial humor, as there are many of just such style of execution on the frescoed walls of the city. But one thing is very certain, and that is, that Christianity was never a success within those walls, not in the olden times as a means of amusement, as it has not been in modern times, as a sort of affected means for the exercise of Christian benevolence.

## A REVIVAL AMONG THE CAPUCHIN MONKS.

A remarkable assemblage gathered lately in Rome, such a one as has not been seen there for many years. One hundred and ten Capuchin monks, collected from all quarters of the world, some from America, Hungary, Ireland, and even Africa, held a general chapter for some important elections. The last assemblage of the Capuchins occurred in 1852, and they then elected a Piedmontese as general of the order.

According to the rules of the order, a new election must take place

every six years, and they should have again assembled in 1858. But this was prevented by Pius IX., who seemed to have no great affection for these monks, and preferred to keep them at a distance. He therefore assumed the right of naming the new general, and commanded that they should assemble in general chapter only once in twelve years. At the close of this period the pope again ratified the former election without consulting the order, or even calling them together, and when this general died, in 1873, he appointed another general *motu proprio*.

The dissatisfaction of the Capuchins at this invasion of their rights and this violation of their independence was very great, but they did not venture to offer any resistance.

Leo XIII., however, declared that the order should again assume its full standing, and they were called to a conclave in their great Mission House in Rome. A German-Swiss friar was elected general, a Bavarian as assistant general, and a French monk as second assistant. Among the voters was the venerable figure of the Friar Massaja, who returned to his home last year after an absence of thirty years, as missionary among the Galas. He will soon publish a book in Florence which will describe the missionary work of the Capuchins in Africa. At the present time the order is working in an extremely broad sphere of labor; in Brazil, India, Australia, the Argentine Republic, and Africa; no order has so broad a mission field, but it is a singular fact that while developing its power outside of Europe, it is comparatively without significance in the focus of the Catholic world, where its brilliancy disappears before that star of first magnitude, the Order of the Jesuits. Even the Propaganda takes little interest in the mission work of the Capuchins, and gives to the mission stations of their order but very little financial aid. They are bidden as mendicant monks to accustom themselves to privation, and get their living, where possible, from those among whom and for whom they labor.

## Art. XII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

The present pontiff seems quite inclined to unlock the secrets of the archives of the Vatican, which have hitherto been firmly sealed, at least to all profane eyes. A few months ago he sent a circular to the principal curators of these archives to institute the most searching studies into these treasures. This circular seems to have been attended with the best of results. Cardinal Hergenröther, the archivist of the pontifical chair, has just given to the world the first volume of the documents of the reign of Leo X., of which there are no less than 2,348, which are said to have been issued during a few months' reign of this pope. This volume is the work of men of various shades, who have been summoned by the cardinal as co-operators, and who have carefully examined 230 volumes and manuscripts, some of which were found outside of the Vatican.

Library. It is said that twelve volumes of this kind are to follow in quick succession, and the second one is to reveal the history of the German Reformation. The Hungarian clergy are showing a very great zeal in this line, and have just published the first two volumes of their collection, entitled the "Vatican Documents of the Kingdom of Hungary."

A famous German commentator has just perfected an instructive study on "Luther as an Expositor of the Old Testament." Prof. Zöckler in this work treats of the theoretical and practical value of the greatest work of Luther in this field, which is found in his printed lectures on Genesis, delivered on various occasions from 1536 to 1545. He shows that Luther acknowledged and maintained the necessity of close grammatical and historical exposition, in contradistinction to some of his predecessors, but that in the dogmatical interpretation he took a wide field and quite often erred in his allegorical demonstrations. From this he infers that the actual expositional worth is not very great, and that its significance lies in its theological and ecclesiastical direction. Zöckler finds therein a rich treasure for dogmatics and polemics against the errors of the Romish Church and of the enthusiasts, and shows what an inexhaustible mine for Christian ethics and worldly wisdom these lectures contain, as well as information regarding the significant events and words of celebrated men. Zöckler's valuable document closes with a few hints as to the effect of this commentary on the exegesis of Genesis, and considers it the ripest work of the Reformer in the field of Scripture exposition.

The Bible Society of France distributed last year 35,344 Bibles or sections of the Bible in France, Algiers, and Numidia. In this work it spent 50,000 francs, and at the same time by great energy wiped out its deficit of 15,000 francs. But it then reported a new gap in the treasury to the amount of 16,000 francs, incurred in the production and printing of the revised Bible, to cover which the friends of the Bible in France are again appealed to by Bersier and Berg, Piccard and Recolin, the text of whose addresses was: "Remain, as were your fathers, a people of the Bible." The Tract Society was also very active during the year last past in impressing the very important principle that in the distribution of small religious documents their weight consists in the quality of what is offered more than in the quantity. The directors of the society, at their annual meeting, strongly emphasized the desire that as much as possible the tracts should be sold and not given away, as the people prize and examine what they had paid for with their own money more than that which had been given to them. The income for the year amounted to 53,146 francs, and the expenses to 54,487. Eighty church societies join in this work. The annual report of the society for the aid of theological students shows an income of 8,402 francs against an outlay of 7,460. As a prize and encouragement to faithful students they receive a savings-bank book with a small credit.

A pamphlet has just been issued in Germany by the Catholic authorities with the title of "The Culture and Education of the Clergy." Some suppose it to be from the hands of a bishop, and others from those of a director of a Catholic Theological Seminary. It undertakes to show with very painful care, by chapters and subchapters and divisions and subdivisions, statistically and historically, theoretically and practically, from the past and the present, that the only profitable development of the young Catholic theologians can come from their education according to Tridentine form in an institution supported by the Church and under the control of the bishop. The life of the German students in the state universities is painted in the darkest colors, while the lightest shades are thrown on that of the incipient priests within the walls of the clerical school. The author frankly confesses that a deeper scientific knowledge and a clearer insight in the inner connection of the sciences may be obtained for their *learned* theologians at the universities. But for the preparation for the cure of souls, learning is much less required than practical piety. The assertion is made that the study of theology rests mainly on authority, and that all necessary knowledge for the exercise of the priestly office may be obtained in the seminaries. The young clericals are there also imbued with patriotism and the love of the fatherland, as well as a high regard for its institutions. An antidote to this work is just announced that proposes to show the necessity of university training for the clergy, but it has not yet reached the public.

The thirteenth volume of the Encyclopedia for Protestant Theology, begun by Dr. Herzog and now continued by Dr. Hauck, has just appeared; and in it we are informed that the work cannot be finished in fifteen volumes, but will probably require seventeen, with the index included. No one will complain of this, as even that number will scarcely be enough to allow room for the large amount of new matter that will necessarily be crowded in the later volumes. The one just issued is a new proof of the scientific excellence of the entire undertaking. Extending from Bishop Ritschl to Scotus, it contains much that is new, especially concerning personalities just deceased, such as Rudelbach, Rückert, Schöberlein, Schubert, and Roth. The work of the ecclesiastical statistics is more than usually valuable, because the most of them are perfectly new; they are mainly from Russia, Saxony, Scotland, and Switzerland. The historical articles have a fullness in some instances not heretofore attained. The Protestant law of divorce is treated quite extensively in accordance with the changes recently made in this field. The author gives a concise and thorough compendium on this subject of forty-six pages. Taken all in all, the volume is worthy of its predecessors. The mechanical execution is also excellent, and the public will owe the publishers hearty thanks for finishing this valuable work in so creditable a way.

A unique addition to the Jewish polemics of the period is found in a modern Epistle to the Hebrews by "Saul." It is one of the most impor-

tant productions which has appeared from the Jewish side of the Jewish question during the later period of the discussion. The author has chosen for himself the name of Saul, and his Semitic and human consciousness equally revolt against this modern Jewry, which is ruled, as he says, by "capitalism;" his Jewish, because among his people there is no unity born of a high idea, and his human consciousness, because their profit is quite sure to be gained by the injury of others. The Jews have received their severest wound in their so-called "emancipation," because it has completely deprived them of their Christian character and has driven them into the worship of said "capitalism." Patriotic earnestness and patriotic hope have inspired the author with the essence of his epistle; and confessions of a similar kind that have lately been often repeated by the Jews belong to the most remarkable and satisfactory signs of the times. A quite important development of this kind is a recent expression of the Jews of southern Russia, bearing the title of "Sowing in Hope." In another work, in thirteen theses, the Jews of a certain district appeal to their fellows to listen to the words of their "Brother Jesus," and thus to seek peace with the nations. These developments are certainly very remarkable.

"Positive Christianity and Orthodox Pietism" is the title of a pamphlet recently issued concerning the unfortunate conflict between two wings of the German Protestant Church. The orthodox Germans claim that these so-called "positive Christians" have not a great deal of positive Christianity, and the object of this publication is an endeavor to make a reconciliation between the thoughtful men of the conservative side and all the earnest minds of the so-called liberal and enlightened side. But the trouble about the pamphlet is that the stand-point of the author lies, not between the parties, but rather in close juxtaposition to the Liberal party. So from the beginning these mediators in the conflict are not impartial. And the same may be said of their theological stand-point. They speak very lightly of the "traditional doctrine" of the Trinity, and declare that the assertions regarding Jesus in the Gospel of John, and in Paul, from which their opponents are led to believe in pre-existence of Jesus, are enigmatical and ambiguous. The pamphlet was written by two hands, one belonging to an intelligent layman and the other to a theologian; but in their effort to make a basis of reconciliation between the right and the left, they use certain expressions indicating that certain gospels are falsely so-called, and take other positions in regard to orthodox theology that are quite incompatible with any idea of mediation. It is not at all probable that this extreme liberal wing of the Christian world of Germany will in this way withdraw any of the bolts that are now closed on them by the orthodox Churches.

Dr. Warneck is becoming the great authority in the German mission field, and at a late Continental Missionary Conference, held in Bremen, his essay on missionary control was, in his absence, read and received with much favor. He is making an effort to have the mission work in

heathen lands as far as possible sustained by the governmental influences of the countries whence the missionaries come. His position is that divisions among the missionaries in their fields of labor, and especially among those from the same land, are prejudicial to the success of the workers. In the course of the debate, induced by the reading of his paper, there was a very general expression of opinion that the tendency to develop missionary work in harmony with his views would be a wholesome one if well guarded; but one of the orators, referring to the early history of missions and the coolness shown toward them by most governments, warned them against being too ready to extend the finger, lest the entire hand be taken.

## Art. XIII.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

### *Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.*

*The Resurrection of Our Bodies that Die.* Pamphlet, 8vo, pp. 123. Eureka, Portland: B. Thurston & Co. 1881.

*Outlines of the Doctrine of the Resurrection.* Biblical, Historical, and Scientific. By Rev. R. J. Cooke, M.A. With an Introduction by D. D. Whedon, LL.D. 12mo. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

*Beyond the Grave.* Reviewed by L. B. Caldwell, Professor of Physics in East Tennessee Wesleyan University, Athens, Tenn. 12mo, pp. 152. Philadelphia: A. T. Zeising & Co.

We group these three works together, for notice and brief review, because of their substantial unity of design, and the similarity of their principal arguments, though they differ in some incidental things. The first is without the author's proper name, or other *data* by which its authorship may be known, further than what is given on the title-page. It is well written, in good temper and taste, and—abating somewhat our praise in view of the writer's over-confident dogmatizing, and his readiness to denounce all who dissent from his views as heretics, and, if Methodists, false to their profession—we may call it an altogether commendable piece of work. The second has already been pretty fully represented to our readers, first in an editorial "notice" in these pages, and next by its reviews and commendations in the Church press. It is written in an earnest and florid style, somewhat indicative of the fact that it is its author's first work. The book is, in its literary aspects, a creditable one, and the reader will think well of the writer, though he may not approve his methods of argumentation nor concur in all his conclusions. The third is a review of Bishop Foster's "Beyond the Grave,"

earnestly dissenting from both its methods and conclusions, though praising its style and its dialectic skill at some points. But neither in respect to fairness nor good taste is it altogether satisfactory, and its attempts at ridicule and sarcasm are unworthy of the subject and the occasion.

These writers are all in the same plane of thought, and their presuppositions and processes, and the conclusions to which they come, are substantially identical; and they are also in harmony with the commonly prevalent (especially among the unscholarly) notions upon the subject, to wit, that at some future time the material bodies of all who shall have lived and died of the children of Adam will be rehabilitated and restored to life, to become again the abodes of the souls which from the death of Abel to the great consummation shall have subsisted for longer or shorter terms without such bodies. The writers who defend this notion usually accept some theory by which to surmount its confessed difficulties. Some have supposed the existence of a joint or ganglion which is the center or germ of the bodily identity; and that around this is to be gathered so much of earthy matter as may be needful to constitute a resurrection body. Other theories equally fanciful are well known; but to the credit of the writers now under review, it must be said that they fight shy of such theorizings, and refer the whole matter to the power of God.

In support of their views these writers so accept and apply certain well-known words of Scripture that they necessarily sustain their positions. The word "resurrection," ἔγερσις and ἀνάστασις, is quietly assumed to signify only the resuscitation of dead bodies, which is simply begging the question at issue, since others give quite another sense to them. In like manner, it is assumed that the resurrection of Christ, of which so much use is made in the apostolic writings, can have no other meaning than the quickening of the body that was laid in Joseph's tomb, and also that the body in which Jesus appeared during the forty days next ensuing did certainly ascend into heaven, where now, "in our nature," (which they understand of his physical body,) he is seated at God's right hand, and thence he will come again in that same material body to judge the world. Of the correctness or otherwise of this exegesis we say nothing; but as it is precisely at this point that objections to the theory of "the resurrection of our bodies that die" comes in, it might be well to give some little attention to these objections. It is claimed by objectors

that the design of what is written in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians was intended to comfort believers with the assurance of the future life, and that by exchanging the word "resurrection" in that place for some word to express simply the future felicity of the saints, would not only meet all the requirements of the language used, but also better preserve the harmony of its ideas; and also obviate the seeming contradiction which is involved in making the declaration that "flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God" mean something wholly different from its natural import.

The resurrection of Christ is certainly among the great central truths of Christianity, whether that fact is accepted as simply implying the bringing to life the body that was crucified, or as something accomplished in the spirit world, where the disembodied Christ spoiled Death in his own dominion, and came forth from his prison a conqueror. This act, performed in *hades*, by our Lord acting in his Messianic character, was itself, say those who account it "THE Resurrection," a work of redemption, which was itself to "the spirits in prison" an assurance of their ἐγερσις, "arising." It is not our purpose to either defend or assert the correctness of this exegesis, but only to suggest that till its incorrectness has been shown it will not do to ignore it in a polemical setting forth of an opposite theory.

It is conceded that the physical and literalistic theory of the resurrection and of the future life has all along borne rule in theological statements and in the popular beliefs. It has, accordingly, become embodied in the sermonology and the hymnology of the Church. It was an integral part of the Catholic orthodoxy of the Church of the Middle Ages, and it was accepted almost entirely unchanged by the Protestant Churches of the Reformation. It is quite certain, however, that these views are not so generally or tenaciously held as they were formerly; and not a few of our best scholars, and among them some whose general orthodoxy cannot be impugned, are bold to announce other views and opinions. One of the books under notice directly antagonizes what has been written and published by one of our Bishops, and as that Bishop has not been called to account for what he has written, it may be assumed that the disputed tenet is not considered an integral part of Methodist orthodoxy. It will be wise for disputants on this subject to bear this in mind, and temper accordingly their denunciations of what they are pleased to stigmatize as heresy.

Dr. Lyman Abbott, whose soundness in the faith we will neither assert nor deny, but whose critical ability and exegetical force must be conceded, in a very able paper, published not very long ago in the "Christian Union," discussing anew what he had some time before said more briefly in a Sunday-school lesson on 1 Corinthians xv, reiterates his formerly expressed doubts, and more fully elaborates his own views of the New Testament doctrine of the resurrection. We submit his words, not as our own, but as a statement of the subject entirely in harmony with evangelical Christianity, and not so palpably wrong as to be unworthy of the candid consideration of those who prefer to be right rather than to follow blindly in the "traditions of the fathers."

Having declared against the popular and traditional faith, Dr. Abbott proceeds to say:

> My faith, both in what it asserts and what it denies, rests *wholly upon Scripture.* I have no faith in any guesses about the future, nor in any philosophical conclusions, expressed in such forms as, We must suppose, or, We must believe; nor in any mere deductions of feelings expressed in such phrases as, I cannot bear the thought, etc. All that we know or can know about the resurrection is to be gathered by a reverent study of Revelation. What such a study will not teach us we must be content to leave unknown. . . . I do not believe in the resurrection of the body; because I think it is clearly, explicitly, and vigorously repudiated by the word of God. .

He then refers to, and quotes from, the Westminster Catechism, the Lesser Catechism, and the Thirty-nine Articles, to show that those venerable standards which have so largely dominated the religious thought of English-speaking Protestantism, all teach the very doctrine that he repudiates and antagonizes, and to their statements he responds:

> I believe that Christ did truly rise from death, [the *dead, νέκρους*;] but I do not believe that he took his body, flesh and bones, into heaven. I believe that before the ascension his material body underwent the change which Paul foretells for those who are living at the coming of Christ; I believe that Christ is a spirit, and I believe his own declaration to his disciples after his resurrection, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have." I believe flesh and blood cannot inherit the kingdom of God. I believe it is no part of the perfection of man's nature, but his temporary instrument, admirably adapted to his state of pilgrimage, utterly unadapted to his eternal home. And I believe this, as I have said, on what seems to me to be the clear teaching of God's holy word.

After a somewhat extended rehearsal of the arguments *pro* and *con* upon the subject, he closes with the following, with the spirit of which no fault can be found, whatever may be thought of the arguments and conclusions:

> That we are to be not unclothed, but clothed upon; that we are to have a glorious body, a spiritual body, a celestial body, a body redeemed from all suffering and sensuous temptation and fleshly sin, all that belongs to flesh and blood, seems to me to be at once the clear revelation of Scripture and the reasonable expecta-

tion of every child of God: for has not our Father taught us, by the wonderful provisions which he has made for our pilgrimage, to expect still greater things in our home? That this incorruptible body may have some now uncomprehended and incomprehensible relation to the physical, earthy, sensuous, decaying tabernacle of our pilgrimage, I see neither reason to affirm nor to deny. Whether God gives us a new garment in place of an old one cast aside, or whether he evolves it out of the cast-off garment as the pure white paper is evolved from the unkempt rags, or the radiant flower from the decaying seed, I do not know, and I am not curious to know. If any one likes to think the latter, and to find in Paul's figure of the seed some ground for this opinion, and in this opinion some justification for repeating the traditional utterance of the Creed, "I believe in the resurrection of the body," I have no dispute with him. But for myself, whenever I join with my brethren in repeating that sublime symbol of the faith of the Holy Catholic Church, the Apostles' Creed, I always substitute for the unscriptural phrase, "The resurrection of the body," this other, the warrant for which both Christ and Paul furnish to the believer:

I BELIEVE IN THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

The subject is one to be calmly and reverently considered, in the light of God's word; and nothing is to be gained by denouncing any one as a heretic for accepting, in its literal truthfulness, St. Paul's explicit declaration, "Flesh and blood shall not inherit the kingdom of God."

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*The Life of Christ.* By Dr. BERNHARD WEISS, Counselor of the Consistory, and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Translated by M. G. HOPE. Vol. III. 8vo, pp. 428. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The concluding volume of Dr. Weiss's "Life of Christ" fully sustains, and indeed enlarges and brightens, the characteristics that have been indicated in the notices of the first and second volumes. The portion of that wonderful story here given covers the last few months of our Lord's ministry, particularly his final and fatal visit to Jerusalem, his triumphant entry, his discourses in the temple, the last passover, the betrayal, trial, and crucifixion, the resurrection, the subsequent abode in the flesh, and the ascension, and in the relation of these all of the writer's peculiarities of manner and style, of thoughts and opinions, are fully brought into view. The same freedom in dealing with the statements of the evangelists that has been noticed in the former volumes is still used, but the heart of the writer is evidently brought into a more lively sympathy with his theme, and accordingly the narrative becomes more tender and exultant.

It may have seemed that the subject of these volumes had been treated with all needful fullness before their appearance, and yet it must be conceded that they make a valuable contribution to that department of Christian literature; and while they should be read only with an intelligent and careful discrimination, yet, if so read, they will prove decidedly and eminently instructive.

The writer's mental stand-point is not that of nearly all English-speaking Protestants, and many will think his views and statements less reverent and conservative; but this very difference may enhance their practical value without damaging the reader's appreciation of the subject in hand. As a review of the evangelistic story, after it has been fully learned from the gospels and considered as collated by some of our admirable lives of Christ, this work will be found both instructive and edifying.

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*Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures.* By HENRY M. HARMAN, D.D., Professor of Greek and Hebrew in Dickinson College. (Revised Edition.) 8vo, pp. 798. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The first edition of Professor Harman's "Introduction" was published five or six years ago, and it at once attracted very considerable attention among biblical scholars. The criticisms that appeared in the periodical press, though not always and in every thing commendatory, still very clearly indicated a decidedly high appreciation of the work. But in respect to Old Testament criticism only a few years marks a wide change, and, to meet the changed condition of the subject, the author has thoroughly revised the whole work for a new edition, devoting especial attention to the Pentateuch. The results of his re-reading of the recent discussions of the subject are embodied in the work as it now stands, so that it may be accepted as "abreast with the times." Having accompanied the critics of the Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Robertson Smith school through all their discussions, and re-examined all their objections, he re-affirms his unchanged conviction that all the books of the Pentateuch, as they now stand, are substantially as Moses wrote them, not including a few editorial notes which are readily recognized as additions. As that whole matter must be determined almost entirely on internal evidence, only the testimony of experts can be used in respect to which form of testimony, whether in the law courts or in criticism, lay folks have come to be somewhat skeptical. As compared with Dr. Terry, (see articles in the last and the present numbers of this "Review,") Dr. Harman is decidedly the more conservative, and, having read the former, and mentally assented to his conclusions, we now find that the latter makes out a good case in favor of some of the long-accepted opinions which the former seems ready to abandon at the behests of the critics.

The changes and additions made for this new edition certainly add very considerably to the value of the work, which, having

already won for itself an advanced position in its own departments of learning, will be able to hold it the more securely by reason of these valuable additions. As a comprehensive manual we know of no other book in the language that so well meets all the requirements of the case.

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*The Doctrine of Divine Love;* or, Outlines of the Moral Theology of the Evangelical Church. By ERNEST SARTORIUS. Doctor of Theology, etc., at Königsberg. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR. 8vo, pp. 378. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Ernest Sartorius has, with confessed fitness, been styled the St. John of German Lutheranism. The period of his public activity, extending from 1821, when he first appeared as an author, down to 1856, when he died at the height of his activity, was simultaneous with that of the rise, prevalence, and decline of German rationalism, to combat which was his life-long endeavor. His successive discussions, afterward collected into a single treatise of "The Doctrine of Divine Love," constitute his chief title to a place among theological authorities, though his other works were voluminous and important. The ruling thought of this work is that in order to understand and appreciate the revelation which God has made of himself and his purposes in Holy Scripture, the subject must be viewed from the stand-point of divine love; and that although God is manifested in various ways to men's natural understanding, he can be truly apprehended only as he is manifested in Christ, impelled by love to man, "reconciling the world to himself." And from this initial point he proceeds to set forth the great doctrines of the Gospel, following the order of the Augsburg documents, which he fully indorses and explains in their manifest evangelical character and design. The work has not only an historical value as marking a stage in the progress of theological thought in Germany, but is also of perpetual value as an able presentation of the theology of the heart, and that, too, without any admixture of mystical antinomianism, against which it is a decided and emphatic protest.

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*Christ Preaching to Spirits in Prison;* or, Christ Preaching to the Dead Explained by the Change from the Inferior to the Celestial Paradise. By REV. WILLIAM DELOSS LOVE. South Hadley, Mass. 18mo, pp. 167. Boston: Congregational S. S. and Publishing House.

The famous passage, 1 Peter iii, 19, 20, with its perhaps kindred one in chapter iv, 6, has afforded no little exercise, labor, or amusement to those who fancy obscure passages of Scripture.

Mr. Love has his theory, which is not beyond the bounds of the accepted orthodoxy. The spirits referred to were antediluvians to whom Noah preached, who were abiding in *hades*, (not *gehenna*,) to which Christ came "in the Spirit" after his crucifixion, and there made known to those whom he found there their assured redemption; that somehow this preaching prepared the way for the betterment of their condition when he should have "ascended up on high." Probably the conclusion to which the writer comes is clearer to his own mental vision than he succeeds in making it to the minds of most of his readers.

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*Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Gospel of John.* By HEINRICH AUGUST WILHELM MEYER, Th.D. Translated from the Fifth Edition of the German by WILLIAM URWICK, M.A. The Translation Revised and Edited by FREDERICK CROMBIE, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature at St. Andrews, with a Preface and Supplementary Notes to the American edition by A. C. KENDRICK, D.D., Greek Professor in the University of Rochester, N. Y. 8vo, pp. 565. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $3.

We have, in noticing other volumes of this edition of Meyer's Commentary, indicated our high appreciation of the work itself, as it came from the hands of its gifted author, and also of the special excellences of this American reprint, with the additions and improvements made in it as compared with the Edinburgh edition; and what was there said will apply without abatement to this additional volume. There seems, indeed, to have existed a peculiar affinity of mind and spirit between the commentator and the work in hand, when he prepared his exegesis of John's Gospel, by which the inner life of the evangelist is drawn out with great beauty and fullness in the Commentary, so constituting it a devotional as well as an intellectual treatise. As will be seen by the title given above, besides the original author, three scholarly hands have united to increase the available value of the book. The double translation is a happy arrangement by which to fully transfer the thoughts expressed in one language into not only the words, but also the idioms and methods of expression, of another, the lack of which is often felt in works only half-way translated out of the German. The American editor, who is well known as no second-rate biblical scholar, has also enriched this edition with many highly valuable critical and illustrative notes, usually appended to each chapter. We again congratulate our American biblical students, and all critical readers of the New Testament, in view of their opportunity to possess, at a comparatively cheap rate, a commentary of such sterling value.

*A Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians.* By the Late JOHN EADIE, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature and Exege... the United Presbyterian Church. Second edition. Edited by the Rev. W. YOUNG, M.A., Glasgow. 8vo, pp. 292. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The name of Dr. Eadie is a sufficient guarantee for both the requisite learning and scholarship and the evangelical orthodoxy of all that he may have written. His commentaries are especially valuable, combining as they do abundant wealth of biblical erudition with the deepest and richest displays of spirituality. His choice of the three epistles—those to the Ephesians, the Philippians, and the Colossians, the eminently spiritual ones—may suggest what were his own religious affinities, which are also abundantly illustrated in his treatment of his chosen subjects; and while in scholarship he will not suffer in comparison with any other in the same field, his profound and clear spiritual insight into and appreciation of the deeper interior purport of the apostolic lessons imparts a special value to his works. Any who may study these commentaries will be sure to be instructed as to the sense of the apostle's words, and if this shall be done with a teachable spirit and a receptive heart the spiritual advantage will not be less marked than the intellectual.

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*The Apostles' Creed, Tested by Experience.* Lectures in the Church of the Messiah, Brooklyn. By C. R. BAKER. 12mo, pp. 133. New York: Thomas Whittaker.

The Apostles' Creed is among the most ancient of the post-apostolic writings for the instruction of believers. It is called the "Apostles'" because it is given as an embodiment of the teaching which had come down to its date as the substance of apostolic doctrine, and not, as some have supposed, as a doctrinal statement formulated by the apostles themselves. And though it is so very brief, as compared with some of the creeds of modern times, yet who can say that it fails to set forth, either explicitly or by natural implication, all that it is essential for a Christian to believe for his soul's comfort?

The author of this little volume made the Creed the text, both to direct the course of his public teaching, and to suggest the spiritual instructions which the truths of the Gospel are so well adapted to impart, and to impart which is among the most important designs of the preaching of the Gospel. It is equally valuable for private and devotional study, and especially because it builds its structure of instructions and reproofs and doctrine upon the almost universally accepted truths of religion.

## *History, Biography, and Topography.*

*A Catholic Dictionary*, containing some Account of the Doctrine, Discipline, Rites, Ceremonies, Councils, and Religious Orders of the Catholic Church. By WILLIAM E. ADDIS and THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A. Third edition. 8vo, pp. 900. New York: The Catholic Publication Society Company. 1884.

As it has become the fashion to have dictionaries and cyclopedias of every department of science, or art, or literature, our neighbors of the Roman Catholic Church have also deemed it desirable that their system should have its dictionary; and accordingly the goodly volume whose title stands at the head of this article is the response to that requirement. Its coming is indeed no cause for surprise, but on the contrary it is rather remarkable that the place it is designed to fill has so long stood empty; and it is known that such a work has been for some years in contemplation, but has been delayed for a variety of causes. Its publication is a sign, additional to many others that have appeared during late years, of the purpose of the Catholic hierarchy and priesthood not to permit their cause to suffer before English-speaking people through any default of the needed defense. If, as they say, their history has been written by their enemies, and their portraiture drawn in caricature, they seem to be determined that it shall be so no longer, and therefore they go at work to tell their own story, and to delineate for public observation the lineaments of their system, all of which they not only have the right to do, but they are bound to do it in fidelity to their trust.

It is a maxim of common observation that very much of a story is in the telling, and very few persons would wish to have their cases presented to even the most impartial tribunal by their confessed adversaries. It may also be presumed that our histories of the popes and of the Reformation, of the horrors of St. Bartholomew's day and of the crusades against the Waldenses, would read differently, though perhaps not more truthfully, in a Romish instead of a Protestant version. And so the Roman Catholics choose that their own people (and all others as well) may receive the account of these things from their friends.

The work is the joint production of two English scholars, who are named on the title-page. The American reprint has been carefully revised and corrected, and considerably enlarged by the addition of matters relating to affairs in this country, and the book bears the *imprimatur*s of Cardinals Manning and M'Closkey, so that the faithful may be assured of the safety of what is given

them. As a literary production it is decidedly praiseworthy, learned, and well written. Its temper, too, is admirable, being quite free from the belligerency and the sneering manner that are often so offensively conspicuous in even the higher class of Roman Catholic productions, at least in this country. Though it is a manifest design of the whole work to present to both Catholic and Protestant readers the Romanist version of the thousands of facts and doctrinal statements which have become commonplace in the public mind, and by so doing to reverse or modify the popular judgment respecting them, still there is very little ostensible pleading, but a kind of quiet assumption that here is the truth, and all to the contrary must be set aside; and for its purpose this is admirably done—skillfully, some would say; others, jesuitically.

As seen in this presentation of its many features, and the details of its history, and the statements of its practices, it is made to appear to the ordinary Protestant reader that Romanism is not so black as it has been painted. But any who come to the examination of the subject, not so much a learner as a critic, with sufficient knowledge of the matters treated of, will not fail to detect its specially apologetic character, not in its style, however, but in its substance. It is, in fact, a plea, but so conducted as to avoid all appearance of controversy, and so to disarm opposition; and without conceding the general truthfulness of the presentations made, it may be granted that not a few popular mistakes are corrected, and new light is thrown on many points usually not well understood.

But notwithstanding its learning and apparent liberality of views, it is quite manifest that this work is thoroughly and completely "ultramontane" in its character, as, indeed, must be every other *approved* Roman Catholic work. The absolute supremacy and the infallibility of the papacy, and for the time being of the pope personally, are every-where and always assumed, so making "obedience" in thought and action the one and sole duty of all the faithful, and alike those of high and low degree. What the pope declares must be accepted as certainly correct, whether in respect to faith or duty. Private judgment is presumption, and the learned criticism of the Scriptures is essential impiety. These things are not flaunted in this work, nor are they denied, but instead they are every-where tacitly assumed, and used on all occasions. This doctrine of papal supremacy makes reformation impossible, and in the presence of such infallibility the theories of error in the doctrines of the Church must be not only absurd.

but impious. For these reasons the Church of Rome is and must be out of harmony with the spirit of the nineteenth century. Its golden age was the Dark Ages, the era of unreasoning and uninquiring faith, and the progress of modern times has been made not simply in opposition to its spirit, but also despite its active resistance. That it feels the influence of the changed atmosphere of English-speaking Christendom, and realizes the necessity of adapting its speech to it, this learned and adroitly written dictionary is proof; and yet in presenting such a work its authors and promulgators have earned the thanks of all who ask for only the truth, and who desire that every interest may be fairly stated, so that it can be judged on its merits.

## *Miscellaneous.*

*Short History of Christian Missions:* From Abraham and Paul to Carey, Livingstone, and Duff. By GEORGE SMITH, LL.D., F.R.G.S., etc. 12mo, pp. 226. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Within the lids of this little volume the compiler has brought together, in good order, but necessarily in the briefest form of words, a sketch of the principal evangelistic movements of the Church in all ages. As a catalogue and summary of facts and dates it will be useful, but it is quite too brief to answer the requirements of a history. The missions of the British Wesleyan Church are dispatched in twelve lines, and those of the Methodist Episcopal Church in eight.

*The Life of St. Paul.* By REV. JAMES STALKER, M.A., Kirkcaldy. 12mo, pp. 149. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This, as also that above noticed, is among the "Hand-books for Bible Classes and Private Students," prepared by Marcus Dods and Alexander Whyte. The work here given is valuable and suited to its design.

*College Greek Course in English.* By WILLIAM CLEAVER WILKINSON. 12mo, pp. 302. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Following out the Chicago idea, Dr. Vincent has projected an "After-School Series" of readings, chiefly made up of the matter usually read in the school courses in Latin and Greek, translations of which Professor Wilkinson is putting into book shape. Two volumes appeared before the present one, containing respectively the Preparatory Course in Latin, and in Greek, done into good English. We now have the College Course in Greek, and that for the Latin is promised. The idea is a good one, and for

the class of persons for whom these books are designed they cannot fail to be useful.

*A Vindication of the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch.* By CHARLES ELLIOTT, D.D., Professor in Hebrew in Lafayette College, Easton, Pa. 18mo, pp. 273. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

This is among the early replications—of which a multitude is sure to follow, of all degrees of ability—to the aggressive antagonism developed by the "Higher Criticism" against the traditional views of the Church respecting the authorship of the earlier books of the Bible. It is less elaborate than some others, and seems to be intended for general rather than for special students, and for the use of such its comparative brevity and its less elaborate methods may be real advantages.

*How the Bible was Made.* By the Rev. E. M. WOOD, D.D. 18mo, pp. 263. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A Methodist minister, occupied with the duties of the pastorate, finds time and occasion also to inform himself respecting the living questions of the times, especially in reference to the great truths of religion; and as just now the attacks of the enemy are directed against the Bible, so he comes to the defense by detailing the processes by which our Bible came into form. The book here offered does not pretend to originality as to its matter, but seeks to present old and well-known truths in such array as best to defeat the onsets of learned skepticism, and to point out to honest inquirers the grounds and reasons for their faith in the written word. It is a book that may be studied with profit.

*Christina*; or, the Persecuted Family. A Tale of Sorrow and Suffering, Founded on a Chapter in the History of the Vaudois; by Rev. J. DILLON. 16mo, pp. 232. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. 1884.

A readable story, from that apparently inexhaustible mine of religious romance, the history of the Vaudois,

> "Who kept God's word so faithfully of old,
> When all our fathers worshiped stocks and stones."

*The Doctrines of God's Holy Word*, as Held in the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Rev. JAMES MUDGE, B.D. 12mo, pp. 87. Lucknow, (India:) American Methodist Mission Press.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY: *A Fair Country Maid.* A Novel. By E. FAIRFAX BYRRNE.—*Godfrey Helstone.* A Novel. By GEORGIANA M. CRAIK.—*My Desire and My Daughter.* A Novel.—*A Perilous Secret.* A Novel. By CHARLES READE.—*I Say No.*" A Novel. By WILKIE COLLINS.—*Lucia, Hetty and Another.* By Mrs. J. H. NEEDELL.—*Venus's Doves.* A Novel. By ISA ASHWORTH TAYLOR.—*Lancelot Ward, M.P.* By GEORGE TEMPLE.

*A Perilous Secret.* By CHARLES READE, author of "Hard Cash," etc. 18mo, paper covers, pp. 160. New York: Harper & Brothers.

*The Mis-Mate.* A Story. By Nine Authors. 18mo, pp. 212. New York: Harper & Brothers.

# INDEX.


Abbott, Dr., on his Christian Faith..Page 788
Addis and Arnold: A Catholic Dictionary. 792
African Population, The Problem of Our. 107
Elevating effects of interbreeding..... 117
Amalgamation, Bp. C. Haven on..117-119
Political grievances of our colored people should be extinguished. 124, 122
The "color line." ..... 124
Education ..... 126
Age of Steel, Creators of the..... 601
Agnosticism of Hume and Huxley..... 601
America and Europe, Gossip about..... 204
American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.....157, 783
Apostles, Teaching of the Twelve..... 697
Argument, The Great ..... 590
Armstrong, His Work of Evangelization in Spain..... 577
Art, Christian, Archæology of..... 582
Atonement, Methodist Doctrine of the.... 278
Historically and doctrinally fundamental ..... 278
Necessary to growth of Protestantism. 279
Views of Drs. Miley and Summers on 282
Dr. Pope on..... 280, 291
Extract from writer's "Tract"...292-231
Extracts from Pope's "Compendium"..... 295, 298
Atte: Archæology of Christian Art..... 582
Austria, Protestant Work in..... 593
Avignon, The Popes at..... 678
Baden, The Old Catholics in..... 177
Badley: Westminster Abbey..... 449
Baker: The Apostles' Creed, Tested by Experience..... 792
Baker: The Mystery of Creation and Man 601
Baldwin: The Opium Traffic in China..... 420
Ball of the Vegetables, and other Stories in Prose and Verse..... 203
Baptist Missionary Magazine..... 788
Belgian Mission Church, The ..... 176
Bible Society of France: Sketch of its Work during the last year ..... 781
Bible Claims..... 180, 183
Biblical Study ..... 184
Bibliotheca Sacra.....169, 348, 561, 759
Bishop: Old Mexico and Her Lost Provinces ..... 203
Blackie: Sound Bodies for Boys and Girls 600
Blackmore: The Remarkable History of Sir Thomas Upmore, Bart, M.P..... 601
Bose, Ram Chandra: Brahmoism..... 597
Bose, Ram Chandra: Gossip about America and Europe..... 204
Bost, Pasteur: Dictionary of Ecclesiastical History..... 179
Bowen: Logic of Religious Belief, The.. 642
Boy Travelers in the Far East, The..... 203
Boyle: Heroes of Christian History..... 599
Boys and Girls, Sound Bodies for..... 600
Brahmoism..... 597
Bridgegate: Lessons on the Life of Jesus 204
Briggs: Biblical Study..... 184
Buchanan, James, Life of..... 594
Bruce: The Parabolic Teaching of Christ 203
Burrows: The Doom of the Majority of Mankind ..... 600
Buttz: The Gnomic Aorist in the New Testament..... 337
Byrne: A Fair Country Maid..... 601
Calloway: Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle .....Page 60
Carlyle, Jane Welsh, Letters and Memorials of..... 60
The saddest and cheerfulest of beings 66
Her literary productions, womanly genius..... 66
Her letters and memorials pronounced by the "Boston Post" "the finest of the nineteenth century."..... 68
Carroll: The Catholic Dogma of Church Authority..... 716
Castelman, M., on the Separation of Church and State.....555, 576
Catholic World.....350, 561, 764
Catholic Dogma of Church Authority, The 716
Scarcity of modern Catholic sermon literature..... 718
Baptism ..... 720
Dogma of supreme authority of the Church ..... 721
Infallibility of the Catholic Church. 722, 723
Denial of the Bible to the laity..... 728
The Bible subordinated to the authority of the Church ..... 729
Doctrine of mass..... 732
Grave errors, quotation from Cardinal Newman..... 737
Luther quoted..... 737
Centenary Thoughts for the Pew and Pulpit of Methodism..... 593
Christianity and Humanity ..... 402
Christina ..... 796
Christian Thought, Monthly.....158, 757
Christian Harem, The ..... 760
Christ Preaching to Spirits in Prison..... 760
Christ, The Public Teaching of..... 203
Christ, The Life of..... 788
Christ's Resurrection and Ascension, Studies in the Forty Days between..... 600
Church of England, Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the..... 185
Church and State, Separation of .....555, 576
City Mission Work Abroad..... 580
Clark, Dr. Elijah[et]..... 148
His early education, and settlement as a physician..... 149
As a leader..... 152
As physician and friend..... 154
As a man of affairs..... 155
Christian character and death..... 156
Clark's Foreign Theological Library..... 384
Clergy, The Culture and Education of the. 782
Clerical Library, The ..... 204
Cobb: Article on Duties Pay Knowledge. 164
Inconsistency of his reasoning ...164-167
College Greek Course in English..... 795
Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians..... 794
Conflict of Centuries..... 192
Conferences, The Late General..... 551
Personnel..... 553
Colored delegates..... 554
Reports ..... 555
Work done..... 556
Strength of Methodism in the future. 556
The lay element..... 557
Publishing interests of the Church.. 561
"Consensus of Doctrines."..... 766, 767

Cooke: Outlines of the Doctrine of the Resurrection.....Page 196, 784
Craik: Godfrey Helstone..... 601
Creed of Mankind, The Earliest..... 20
Polytheism the primary religion of mankind..... 20
Argument in support of.....20-22
Lubbock classifies the first great stages of religious thought..... 25
Earliest men capable of entertaining the conception of a Supreme Being. 41
Crippen: A Popular History of Christian Doctrine..... 396
Crook: Biblical Hermeneutics..... 738
Crooks and Hurst's Theological Encyclopedia and Methodology..... 586
Crommelin: In the West Countrie..... 601
Curci, Padre: The Vatican Desiring a Royal Throne..... 581
Curry: The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ..... 602
Curry: Some Aspects of the Epistle to the Romans..... 527
Curry: The Late Ecen'l Conference: The Situation, the Work, and the Outlook. 551
Curry: Scriptural Doctrine of the Devil. 309
Curry: Teaching of the Twelve Apostles 697
Curtis: Life of James Buchanan..... 591
Davies: Authorship of Ecclesiastes..... 482
Devil, Scriptural Doctrine of the..... 300
Author of sin in man,.....302-304
Personal embodiment of a great spiritual force.....302-305
Character of, as given by Christ..... 303
The tempter to evil of moral beings. 305
Not a delusion..... 306
Summary of his character and work. 315
Divine Love, Doctrine of..... 730
Dictionary, Catholic..... 703
Its character and design..... 704
Dictionary of Ecclesiastical History..... 179
Dillon: Christine: Persecuted Family.... 706
Discipline, The Administration of the.... 80
The whole question discussed..... 81
Authority of the Church divine..... 83
The Church a theocracy..... 85
Church courts..... 87
Mode of dealing with offenders.....88-96
Doctrine of the Resurrection, Outlines of the..... 785
Doctrines, Consensus of.....766, 767
Dunn: Wesley's Designated Successor.... 205
Dyer: Folk-Lore of Shakespeare..... 308
Eadie: Commentary on the Greek Text of the Epistle of Paul to the Philippians.. 792
Eby: Christianity and Humanity..... 402
Ecclesiastes, Authorship of..... 482
Education: An International Magazine.. 208
Educators in Council, Christian..... 396
Edwards: Tertia ..... 207
Electra: Wilson-Leadham..... 204
Elliott: Vindication of the Mosaic Authorship of the Pentateuch..... 796
Ely: French and German Socialism in Modern Times..... 389
England, The Conquest of..... 395
English Men of Letters..... 601
Etter: The Preacher and His Sermon... 203
Evangelical Association of France..172, 174, 776
Everitt: John Foster, Life and Thoughts 597
Eytinge: Ball of the Vegetables, and Other Stories..... 203
Fables of the World, The..... 384
Faunterey: Who's to Blame?..... 400
Father, Revelations of the..... 598
Fellows: The Story of Young Margaret.. 201
Field: Among the Blow Huts..... 394
Forbes: Chinese Gordon..... 601
Foreign Literary Intelligence.178, 365, 581, 780
Foreign Relig. Intelligence....175, 360, 577, 776
Foster: Beyond the Grave.....Page 781
Foster: Centenary Thoughts for the Pew and Pulpit of Methodism..... 596
Foster, John..... 597
France, The Free Church of..... 360
French Protestantism, Fear of the Protestant Principle in the Ranks of..... 377
Froude: Luther: A Short Biography.... 403
Gardner: Light Ahead..... 600
George: Russia and England in Central Asia..... 407
Gilbert's Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England..... 185
Gnomic Aorist in the New Testament.... 237
Gobat..... 583
God and the Future Life..... 203
Goebal-Headingly: The Parables of Jesus. 591
Gospel According to St. Mark, The..... 402
Gospel According to Moses, The..... 201
Gospel of the Secular Life, The..... 600
Gracey: Outline Missionary Series..... 600
Grave, Beyond the..... 785
Grecian History, Mosaics of..... 204
Green: The Conquest of England..... 395
Guthe's Report of his Latest Excavations around Jerusalem..... 367
Guyot: Creation..... 386
Hamlet, A Psychological Study of..... 605
Harper's Frank. Sq. Library..203, 403, 601, 796
Harper's Young People..... 204
Harman: Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures..... 789
Harrington: The Popes at Avignon..... 678
Harrison's Living Christ..... 197
Harwell: Christian Educators in Council, 396
Haswell: Mechanics and Engineers' Pocket-book of Tables..... 601
Hermeneutics, Biblical..... 738
The position of the Bible..... 738
Its antiquity..... 739
Aim of..... 742
Study of, important to Preachers.743, 745
Different methods of interpretation.. 751
Extracts from.....752, 753
Parables, principles of interpreting.. 753
History of Biblical Interpretation and Its importance.....755, 756
Heroes of Christian history..... 599
History of the Christian Church..... 383
" History of the Index Expurgatorius.". 581
History of the Literature of the Scandinavian North..... 288
History of a Learned Man..... 773
Home College Series..... 403
Home: History of the Literature of the Scandinavian North from the Most Ancient Times to the Present..... 288
Hurst: Our Periodical Literature..... 46
Hurst: Short History of the Reformation 600
Hyde: The Last Days of John Wesley... 624
Index to the Methodist Quarterly Review. 598
Inheritance, A Golden..... 400
Italy, Catholic Congress in..... 391
Italy, Luther Festivals in..... 562
Jackson: The Regeneration and Glorification of the Body..... 429
James: The Soul-Winner..... 203
Jeans: The Creators of the Age of Steel.. 601
Jesus, Lessons on the Life of..... 590
Jewish Question in Germany, The..... 579
Journal of Christian Philosophy...158, 568, 778
Journal of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis..... 178
Keil: Views of Old Testament Canon, 381, 782
Knox: Boy Travelers in the Far East.... 203
Ladd: Doctrine of Sacred Scripture..... 180
Lanthorn: The Macedonian Cry..... 599
La Nuova Scienza..... 772
Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands..... 600

Letters and Memorials of Jane Carlyle. Page 60
Liddon: "The Divinity of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ."..... 308
Light Ahead..... 600
Lindsay: Gospel According to S. Mark.. 202
Lipscomb: Psychological Study of Hamlet 665
Lipscomb: Studies in the Forty Days between Christ's Resurrection and Ascension..... 600
Little: Biblical Lights and Side Lights.. 598
Living Christ..... 197
Locke's Theory of Knowledge..... 387
London Quarterly Review, (Wesleyan)... 768
Longking: Light to the Path..... 403
Love: Christ Preaching to Spirits in Prison..... 790
Lowe: Memoir of Charles Lowe..... 604
Luther, Martin..... 640
Luther Literature..... 179, 205, 395
Lutheran Quarterly..... 158
Macedonian Cry, The..... 599
Mair: Studies in the Christian Evidences 375
Mankind, The Doom of the Majority of.. 600
M'Carthy: A Short History of Our Own Times..... 395
M'Closkey, Cardinal, Letters to..... 600
M'Cosh: Agnosticism of Hume and Huxley..... 601
M'Cosh: Locke's Theory of Knowledge.. 387
Meath: Martin Luther..... 640
Mechanics and Engineers' Pocket-book of Tables..... 604
M'Elroy: The Administration of the Discipline..... 80
Membuhalt: Echoes from Palestine..... 390
Meyer: Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Epistles to the Corinthians. 532
Meyer: Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Gospel of John ..... 791
Monks, Capuchin, A Revival Among the. 779
Morley: English Men of Letters..... 601
Mother in Council..... 600
Mounds in the Ohio Valley and along the Upper Mississippi..... 763
Miller: Conflict of Centuries..... 102
Miscellaneous..... 392, 402, 598, 795
Missions, Christian, Short History of..... 795
Miz-Maze, The..... 796
Mudge: Doctrine of God's Holy Word. . 796
Mulligan: The Gospel According to John Explained..... 204
Murray: By the Gate of the Sea..... 203
Murray: The Way of the World..... 604
Naville: Modern Physics..... 604
New Englander..... 158, 249, 759
New Testament, A Complete Concordance to the Revised Version..... 203
New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ..... 602
Nippold: "Manual of Church History."... 782
Nordhoff: God and the Future Life ..... 203
O'Connor: Letters to Cardinal M'Closkey. 600
Oehler: Theology of the Old Testament.. 393
Old Testament Student..... 159
Oliphant: Harry Joslyn..... 203
Opium Traffic in China, The..... 429
1. Results to the Victims..... 424
2. Effect on missionary work..... 425
3. Its results to India..... 427
4. Its effect on general trade..... 428
Opinion of London bankers..... 429
Chinese opinion..... 430
Relation of United States to the trade. 433
Efforts for the suppression of..... 436
What ought to be done?..... 437
Palestine, Echoes from..... 390
Pasteur, His Many and Important Discoveries..... 774, 775
Payn: Thicker than Water..... 204
Pearl, Raising the..... 600
Peck: Special Providence Illustrated. Page 204
Pentateuch, Vindication of the Mosaic Authorityship of..... 796
Pentateuch, The Higher Criticism of the. 605
I. Passages not written by Moses.... 605
II. Documents in the..... 608
III. Ignorance and neglect of the Law after the age of Moses..... 610
IV. Relation of the Levitical and Deuteronomic Codes..... 613
Six reasons for rejecting theories of recent school of the higher criticism..... 624, 662
Periodical Literature, Our..... 50
Growth of. Poole's Index to..... 47
Increase of American Journalism..52, 53
Treasures of periodical literature .... 54
Completeness and magnificence of.. 47
Physics, Modern..... 604
Pilcher: Index to the Methodist Quarterly Review..... 598
Poe's Raven, Illustrated by Doré..... 202
Pompeii, Christian Benevolence in..... 778
Poole: Ripe Grapes..... 204
Pope: A Higher Catechism of Theology. 589
Positive Christianity and Orthodox Pantheism..... 783
Prayer and its Answer..... 204
Prayer and Science..... 5
Nature controlled by mind..... 7
Law not of force, but of mind..... 8
Natural laws the result of divine volition..... 10
A change of volition may induce a change of law..... 11
God's knowledge of an event does not cause the event..... 12
Freedom of choice a divine perfection 13
An infinite being cannot be limited in any action..... 14
A supernatural influence may produce a supernatural result..... 16
Prime: Prayer and its Answer ..... 204
Probation after Death ..... 126
General faith of the Christian Church. 127
Three classes of dissent..... 127
I. The sentiment held at and about the time of Christ..... 128–131
II. Scriptures adduced as teaching probation after death..... 131
III. Probation limited to earthly life. 159
Probation after Death (Second Article).. 316
I. The philosophical argument for future probation..... 317–324
II. The probationary condition of the heathen..... 325–330
III. Infant non-probation..... 330–332
IV. The awards of the day of judgment a finality..... 333, 335
Problem of our African Population, The. 107
The colored population a great element of the working force of the nation; caste..... 109
Colonization our only hope..... 110
Voluntary Emigration to Africa..... 112
Protestant Churches of Italy..... 777
Protestant work in Spain..... 777
Providence, Special, Illustrated..... 204
Quarterly Book Table..... 183, 393, 581, 781
Reade: A Perilous Secret..... 796
Reade: "I say No."..... 796
Reformation, Short History of the ..... 600
Regeneration and Glorification of the Body. 420
Regeneration of the body coincident with that of the soul..... 420
Illustration of..... 420
A scriptural doctrine..... 417
Paul's glorying on this account..... 415
Matter of interest to the sinner..... 416
Of interest to the believer..... 417

Religious Belief, Logic of.....Page 612
Religion, Intellectual Difficulties in... 376
Resurrection of Our Bodies that Die, The 784
Reusch: "History of the Index Expurgatoritis"..... 581
Review, African M. E. Church..... 757
Review, Amer. Cath. Quarterly ...157, 561, 578
Review, Annual Theological..... 584
Review, Baptist Quarterly.....157, 562, 763
Review, British and Foreign Evangelical ..... 159, 351, 570, 765
Review, British Quarterly...160, 351, 569, 765
Review Chretienne, (Christian Review,) ..... 172, 356, 573, 773
Review, Christian Quarterly.....157, 562, 761
Review, Cumberland Presbyterian Quarterly ..... 158
Review, Edinburgh.....351, 570, 765
Reviews, English.....160, 351, 569, 765
Reviews, French.....172, 356, 573, 773
Reviews, German.....170, 358, 570, 770
Review, Indian Quarterly..... 770
Review, London Quarterly, (Wesleyan)... 768
Review, London Quarterly...159, 355, 570, 765
Review, North American.....158, 348, 566, 758
Review, Presbyterian.....159, 349, 562, 758
Review, Princeton..... 159, 349
Review, Quarterly, of the M. E. Church, South.....159, 349, 562, 758
Review, Unitarian, and Religious Magazine ..... 562, 758
Review, Westminster.....351, 570, 769
Ridgaway: Dr. Elizabeth Clark..... 148
Rockwell: A Golden Inheritance..... 600
Rocky Hill Social Things..... 204
Robinson: The Man She Cared For..... 601
Romans, Some Aspects of the Epistle to the..... 527
Rome in the first Christian century ..... 528, 529
Tendencies of the Period-Platonism and Stoicism..... 529
Religion of the Roman Empire...529, 532
Morals. Roman Slavery..... 533
The Jewish character of the times... 535
Saul of Tarsus..... 536
The Church at Antioch..... 538
Confessus of the Epistle considered... 540
Three Systems of thought, Grecian Judaism, Roman, and Hebrew..540, 542
Russell: John Hopkinsworth..... 601
Russia and England in Central Asia..... 407
Sartorius: The Doctrine of Divine Love. 709
Schaf: History of the Christian Church. 383
Scripture, Sacred, Doctrine of..... 189
Sea, By the Gates of the..... 203
Sermons to Children, Outlines of..... 204
Shakespeare, Folk-Lore of..... 398
Sherwood: Manners and Social Usages.. 601
Sketches and Anecdotes of American Methodists of the Days that are No More 202
Small Things..... 204
Smeaton: Doctrine of the Holy Spirit.... 379
Smith: Short History of Christian Missions..... 795
Smith: System of Christian Theology.... 588
Socrates, A Day in Athens with..... 401
Soul-Winner, The..... 203
"Sowing in Hope"..... 783
Stalker: The Life of St. Paul.....Page 795
Stevens: Problem of Our African Population..... 197
St. Januarius, The Blood of..... 584
St. Paul, The Life of..... 795
Subterranean Byzantine Church..... 584
Sumner: What Social Classes Owe to Each Other..... 204
Switzerland, A New League in..... 227
Synopsis of the Quarterlies...157, 348, 561, 755
Taylor's Contrary Winds, and other Sermons..... 197
Taylor: David King of Israel..... 203
Temple, Tall of, fatal to Judaism..... 711
Terry: Biblical Hermeneutics..... 728
Terry: The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch..... 684
Theory of Documents..... 687
Theory of Fragments..... 688
Theory of Supplements..... 410
Theory of Ethnic Development..... 415
Results of Criticism..... 410
Theologische Studien und Kritiken (Theological Essays and Reviews) .170, 359, 570, 775
Thoms: A Complete Concordance to the Revised Version of the New Testament. 202
Thomson: The Great Argument..... 569
Tigert: The Methodist Doctrine of Atonement..... 278
Tindall, William..... 226
Trollope: An Autobiography..... 394
Trumbull: Kadesh-barnea..... 202
Tyerman: Wesley's Designated Successor. 401
Unitarian Affirmations..... 601
Universalist Quarterly..... 159
Upmore, Sir Thomas, History of..... 149
Vatican Desiring a Royal Throne, The... 581
Wakeman: Prayer and Science..... 5
Warneck, Dr., in the German Mission Field..... 783
Warren: The Earliest Creed of Mankind. 20
Washburne: The Gospel According to Moses..... 204
Webster: A Presentation of the Grammar of New English..... 601
Weiss: Criticism on the "Life of Jesus."... 170
Weiss: The Life of Christ..... 188
Wentworth: Williams's "Middle Kingdom."..... 202
Wesley's Designated Successor..... 205
Fletcher, John, important facts concerning..... 205
Westcott: The Revelation of the Father... 7
Westminster Abbey..... 149
Wheelon: Probation After Death..... 197, 399
Who's to Blame?..... 600
Wiclif, John, The Last Days of..... 654
Wilkinson: College Greek Course in English..... 205
Wilson: Mosaics of Grecian History..... 204
Williams's "Middle Kingdom."..... 202, 5
Winchell's World-Life..... 188
Wise: Sketches and Anecdotes of American Methodists of the Days that are No More..... 202
Wood: How the Bible was Made..... 7
Worship of the Saints in Italy..... 5
Wythe: A Commentary on the Shorter Catechism..... 4

4633 6